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# East Europe Report

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JPRS-EER-87-071

6 MAY 1987

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### CONTENTS

#### ECONOMY

##### BULGARIA

Report on Activities of Soviet Economic Specialists (Vitaliy Semenov; POGLED, 16 Mar 87).....	1
State of Shipbuilding Industry Examined (Kol'o Sevov Interview; LITERATUREN FRONT, 19 Mar 87)....	3

##### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Foreign Newsmen Visit JZD Slusovice (ROVNOST, 7 Apr 87).....	9
---	---

##### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Swedish Firm Contracts To Build Hotel (Eva Stenstrom; SVENSKA DAGBLADET, 26 Mar 87).....	10
Inner-German Trade: Positive Trend, Future Development (DIE WOCHENBERICHT, No 11, 12 Mar 87).....	12

##### POLAND

Regional Bank President on Domestic Credit Policy (Jerzy Tynecki; GAZETA LUBUSKA, 18 Feb 87).....	26
Regional Editorials Sharply Address Economic Issues (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 27 Feb 87).....	29

Role of Dollar in Economy Addressed in Editorials (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 6 Mar 87).....	32
--	----

## POLITICS

### BULGARIA

BCP CC Delegation's Talks With CPI in India (BTA, 3 Apr 87).....	35
Bulgarian-Angolan Economic Talks, Protocol Signed (BTA, 30 Mar 87).....	36
Mariy Ivanov Surveys Foreign Policy Since Congress (BTA, 2 Apr 87).....	37
Dzhurov Addresses Retiring Officers in Sofia (Nikolay Panov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 28 Mar 87).....	39
Solutions to Ecological Problems Surveyed (Todor Bozhinov; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 1 Apr 87).....	41
Tribute to Boris Pasternak (Zhana Avishay; NARODNA KULTURA, 13 Mar 87).....	43

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak, Strougal Cable Hungarian Leadership (Prague Domestic Service, 3 Apr 87).....	47
Defense Minister Attends Aktiv on Military Discipline (RUDE PRAVO, 3 Apr 87).....	48
CPSL CC Resolution Discussed (PRAVDA, 1 Apr 87).....	49
Zavadil Speech to CSSR TU Congress (Miroslav Zavadil; Prague Television Service, 14 Apr 87).....	55
Prague TV Carries TU Chairman's Speech (Prague Television Service, 14 Apr 87).....	77
Situation in Service Sector Reviewed (RUDE PRAVO, 1 Apr 87).....	78
Havlin Addresses Czech Artists' Congress 1 April (Josef Havlin; RUDE PRAVO, 2 Apr 87).....	80

Colotka Addresses Slovak Drama Artists  
(Peter Colotka; RUDE PRAVO, 1 Apr 87)..... 82

Kempny Addresses Graphic Artists  
(Josef Kempny; RUDE PRAVO, 26 Mar 87)..... 86

Congress of Slovak Composers Changes Name  
(PRAVDA, 3 Apr 87)..... 91

**Briefs**

U.S. Congressmen Received in Prague 92  
IPPNW Symposium Scheduled for Prague 92  
CSSR, U.S. Agriculture-Related Issues Discussion 92  
Social Affairs Talks' Delegate Interviewed 92  
Austria's Vranitzky Visits CSSR 93

**POLAND**

Social Science, Ideology Talks With Soviets  
(Eugeniusz Gajda; TRYBUNA LUDU, 26 Feb 87)..... 94

Commentary Proposes Limitations on Workers Universities  
(TRYBUNA LUDU, 24 Feb 87)..... 96

Catholic, PZPR Press on Elements Youth Find Attractive  
(TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 8, 22 Feb 87; TRYBUNA LUDU,  
17 Feb 87)..... 99

Economics Blamed for 'Passivity', by Piotr Legutko 99  
Few Students Aspire to PZPR Ranks 104

Ozga-Michalski Interviewed on Lay Movement  
(Jozef Ozga-Michalski; TRYBUNA LUDU, 21-22 Mar 87)..... 107

Auschwitz Site Convent Controversy Resolved  
(Zdzislaw Morawski; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 25 Feb 87)..... 109

PZPR Daily Lambasts 'Clericalism'  
(Ryszard Swierkowski; TRYBUNA LUDU, 19 Feb 87)..... 111

**Briefs**

Soviet Kolkhoz Hosts ZSL Delegation 116  
Moscow University Delegation Visits 116  
Gift From Pope 116  
New Catholic Organization 117

**ROMANIA**

**Briefs**  
Vrancea County Appointment 118

/12223

ECONOMY

BULGARIA

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET ECONOMIC SPECIALISTS

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 16 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Article by Vitaliy Semenov, party committee secretary of the Soviet collective in Bulgaria, and Aleksandr Tkachenko, cultural attaché: "Not To Visit But To Work"]

[Excerpts] We can feel the way new developments are shifting the layers of old concepts. In a time when so many new features are entering the lives of our countries, the themes of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, close contacts and reciprocal cooperation also sound differently.

This was the topic we discussed by the editors.

Shifting Gears

There are some 4,000 Soviet people working in Bulgaria. Every one of them is also a target of restructuring and his engine, bearing in mind the new speed gathered by Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, has switched to the new gears of renovation.

Vitaliy Semenov:

Before coming to Bulgaria, the Soviet specialists learn a great deal about it. They learn the most after their arrival: Yes, we do import Bulgarian tomatoes and yes, Soviet tractors work in Bulgaria. We learn how to work together in such a way that the results of our joint efforts will be sought on the world markets and prove through their qualities that they were made by fraternal peoples.

A great deal of joint work is taking place currently at the construction site of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. The qualities of the fifth power unit must offer the proof that it was created by fraternal nations.

A great deal of joint work is being done now at this project. The fifth power unit must be completed in the first quarter of 1987. The leadership and the party buro of the Soviet collective at this project are taking steps to ensure

that the work is precise and well organized during the pre-commissioning period. All Soviet specialists are members of Bulgarian brigades of tuners, assemblymen and construction workers. The close interaction between them is shown up most strongly at the final construction stage.

The Soviet specialists at the State Heavy Machine Building Trust in Radomir are issuing useful recommendations in improving production processes. Engineers N. Bubenkov, A. Gulyar and P. Ivashchenko developed and applied technology for welding cylinder- and cone-shaped bushings, 2,200 and 1,750 mm in diameter, without machining. This novelty saved 740 machine/hours. On the suggestion of N. Ratushin and P. Isakov, systems for shaking out castings and removing the used mixtures were redesigned, reducing labor intensiveness and stabilizing work with the machine. Substantial results were obtained by applying the suggestion submitted by L. Baklushin on rolled-piece production at Kremikovtsi. On his initiative, a technology was applied for repairing rolled pieces through welding; the quality of preparing billets was improved and their active stratum is being used more efficiently.

Soviet specialists at the Stankoimport, Tekhnoimport and Elektronorgtehnika technical centers are helping their Bulgarian colleagues efficiently, energetically and with initiative in organizing the use and technical servicing of Soviet equipment on a high quality level.

In his meeting with the journalists, Mikhail Gorbachev said that a political line becomes empty wool gathering unless it is followed by practical steps in the social, economic, political, ideological and spiritual area.

You see, the word "perestroika" is being spelled out in Latin characters, without a translation and the world is following with interest the point we have reached in the changes we are making. To us there is no going back and restructuring is the only way leading to motion and life.

The CPSU Central Committee itself is setting the example of revolutionary approach. Central departments, labor collectives, administrations, scientists, workers and peasants are switching to a new track. We are intensifying the search for new approaches in the leadership of local party authorities and primary organizations. Exigency, discipline and production organization are being enhanced; a struggle is being waged against negative phenomena; a favorable environment is being created and the new spirit of the people is being felt.

However, in order to restructure, we must be aware of our shortcomings. This means that a critical study of what we have failed to do precedes specific tasks of how to do it. As party secretary, I can only be pleased by the fact that recently the Rare Metals Trust received its second Order of G. Dimitrov, for it employs 50 excellent Soviet specialists. In the old tradition I would have said "Bravo, good for you!" And we would have applauded. Now, we must ask ourselves: But what, dear comrades, has remained undone? And what could you have done better, together with the Bulgarian specialists?

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## STATE OF SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY EXAMINED

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 19 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[Interview conducted by writer Kol'o Sevov with Petur Khadzhimikhalev, director of the Shipbuilding Institute and chairman of the Marine Scientific Association: "Calling Things by Their Names"]

[Text] In recent years there have been extensive discussions on the scientific and technical revolution in our life. Most party and state documents have touched upon it. We are trying to take our economy to a new higher stage and be in step with the developed countries. The initial impetus has been given in all areas of material production to the specialists; institutes and rationalization bureaus, plants and collectives have intensified their activities. However, the scientific and technical revolution requires the stress of the entire nation, both mental and physical. Above all, we must change our attitude toward labor. We must respect all types of work and justifiably reward it. We must find the necessary material and spiritual incentives and cleanse the bureaucratic machinery, which is acting like a break on progress and nipping in the bud original and new thinking. A scientific and technical revolution cannot be made with limited or mediocre people. Unimplemented ideas impoverish a nation. Such were my thoughts on my way to see Petur Khadzhimikhalev.

[Question] Comrade Khadzhimikhalev, you and I have known each other for years. Let us talk frankly and call things by their names. You are a scientist and a practical worker. You develop ideas and the designs of the latest ships. However, you are also involved with their building at the Georgi Dimitrov Shipyards or at the other plants at Ruse, Michurin, etc. As the head of such an important institute, what is your understanding of the scientific and technical revolution? How do you conceive of it?

[Answer] Shipbuilding is a very synthetic area, and achievements and shortcomings in machine building are directly reflected in it. Scientific and technical achievements play a major part in determining the quality of a newly built ship. Essentially (on the surface) the ships have not changed a great deal and it is hard to expect any miracle, for the environment in which they move is that of the world's oceans and thousands of years of experience in

shipbuilding have led to the most convenient and advanced forms. The question is how to use them in designing.

We cannot change the environment, for which reason we try to adapt the ships to it. However, new materials, economic power systems and achievements in the power industry and electronics, which we consider today a basic science, perform important functions in improving the quality of a new ship. Today the latest achievements in science and engineering are applied in shipbuilding.... It is important for us to save on metal, for shipbuilding means, above all, metal casting. In the final account, the point is to make a product with a higher consumer value.... We must build specialized ships, with flexible possibilities, for stagnation on the world market is high and we must be competitive....

[Question] In 1962, when I was editor in chief of MAYAK, I wrote an essay in which I tried to describe my dreams of the future. I imagined that by 1980 we would be sailing on hydrofoils and building the most advanced ships. Life turned out to be much more complex than a poetic imagination. It is true that we have renovated our commercial fleet and, in terms of tonnage, have caught up with some developed maritime countries. Our shipyards deserve a great deal of credit for this. Could you tell me what our position is in world shipbuilding? What place do we hold?... In the past we thundered around the world that we had built two 100,000-ton tankers and that their equipment was meeting world standards. The first we named "Asparukh", and sold it to the Bulgarian Maritime Fleet; we sold the other at an unsuitable price. The other tankers in this series had the same poor fate.

[Answer] In shipbuilding as in other economic areas it is important to compute accurately and to use and play your cards safely. What we can say about the tankers is that they were good ships but interest in them dropped. To this day, to the best of my knowledge, the "Asparukh" is sailing. It is an efficient ship.... To us these tankers are the peak in domestic shipbuilding in terms of size but not structural complexity. Some of the most advanced shipbuilding methods were used in building the "Asparukh" and in providing technical solutions.... This was a stage in our shipbuilding!... From then on, however, the orientation changed and, particularly during the 8th 5-year period, we undertook to build ships of other series and other tonnages to haul a variety of bulk freight. Until then we were exporting essentially two ship models: the 25,000-ton and the 38,000-ton. We have now converted to container carriers, multipurpose ships, dry-good ships and general purpose ships displacing 15,000 and 18,000 tons, with their own lifting systems, which dock in unequipped ports, and a broad variety of general purpose and dry-good vessels. We have undertaken the construction of another series of multiple-purpose ships and specialized 6,000-ton tankers. We are currently building such tankers which can haul chemicals. We have undertaken the building of tankers of about 30,000 tons. The characteristic feature of these ships is that their power systems are much more economical.

[Question] Excuse the interruption! How many ships make a series? Where do they go, who buys them? Is this profitable?

[Answer] This is not a question of specialized ships but of mass shipbuilding in our shipyards, meeting essentially the needs of the Bulgarian Maritime Fleet, the basic needs, naturally, for the fleet includes ships which we are unable to make.... The series vary. The biggest are those built for the Soviet Union. These are ships built in our Ruse shipyards. It was there that we mastered a very interesting series with high consumer quality. These are ships without superimposition because they are destined to ply the big Siberian rivers. They can be operated virtually on a year-round basis, which increases their efficiency. This is our largest series of ships displacing 2,500-ton. We are also producing bunker ships, whose series has already exceeded 40 units and more continue to be built. Other series consist of 12 to 15 ships. However, it is not this standard approach that matters. The approach we would like to develop is that of creating basic variants. We are trying to develop a variety of modules, which means that in making the various parts of the ships, the superstructure, the power systems, the hull, and the fore section are complete separate units which, switched around, change the nature of the ships. It is thus that we are broadening the range of the new ships. Limited demand has forced us not to develop large series but seek new ways.

[Question] To what countries are such ships sold?

[Answer] In addition to the Soviet Union, who is our main partner, quite a number of ships were sold to England and to Greek owners. Other countries are interested as well. However, we are holding back, for many of the ships are needed by our merchant and construction fleets. We are also building ships for China. This is the situation, speaking in more general terms.

[Question] Our shipbuilding has earned a reputation and acquired new partners. But how do we outfit the ships? Where from do we import such advanced equipment? Do we simply manufacture the hulls and import everything else or is the rest essentially produced at home?

[Answer] In accordance with the latest shipbuilding trends and aiming at the latest developments in science and technology, to us equipment is one of the most important questions in terms of the quality and technical standards of the outfitting. Our situation is as follows: More than 50 percent of the equipment is of Bulgarian manufacturing; 42 to 45 percent of this comes from the shipbuilding enterprises. This includes a list of about 12,000 items. The rest is produced by our domestic industry. Many parts of equipment which were imported in the past are now manufactured at the Heavy Machine Building Plant. We have undertaken the production of Bulgarian diesel generators.... Unfortunately, the production of main ship engines is being delayed....

[Question] Now we come to economics. We do not need the scientific and technical revolution merely for the sake of saying that we are a technological nation and that we produce fourth generation computers or robots for some industrial sectors. Everything we make must be for the sake of improving the life of the people and Bulgarian living standards!... What, then, is the bottom line if a still high percentage of equipment must be imported and paid for in foreign currency?

[Answer] I think that our figures are good, for the policy itself of orientation toward the respective markets should be able to balance. By exporting goods we earn foreign currency with which we buy machines and equipment and engage in the technological retooling of capacities. All of this is made possible through exports. Our program is to steadily increase output on a high quality level, which will improve our financial results.

[Question] Are our ships competitive?

[Answer] I believe that they are competitive for they meet all international specifications and conventions. They are assigned a class by an international classification organization.

[Question] This is only one side of the matter. The highest class and specifications of a ship are those awarded by those who sail them. What do they think about our ships?

[Answer] We have had good reactions from the crews and very specific comments from the shipping administrations which are operating our ships. The press recently published a report by the skipper of one of our ships built at the Ruse plant. They were sailing around Europe and their destination was the Siberian rivers, after crossing the northern seas. A convoy of such ships built in different countries was assembled. It was forced to sail under harsh winter conditions. An incredibly strong storm developed. Most ships were damaged, others ran aground and others again asked for help. Our ship was the only one which was able to reach its destination without any help. The 25,000-ton and 38,000-ton ships which sailed under difficult navigation conditions displayed high sea-worthiness. What is concerning us is problems of equipment breakdowns in some elements such as electronic and automated devices, pumps and ventilators, some of which are imported, and which are not always of the proper quality.

[Question] Another specific question: What new aspects are you looking for in ship design?

[Answer] We are trying, above all, to raise the technological standard of designing. Creating a design on the level of the state of the art is one thing; making this design technological--ensuring its easy and efficient implementation--is something else.

[Question] Is this the leap you are aiming at in designing?

[Answer] Under contemporary conditions, a ship design must be technological. It is very important for a ship to be built with the help of maximal automation and available welding automation facilities, under good conditions, in a shop. These are some of the things we are trying to introduce in designing. Next is the maximal saturation with units and sections which could be tested under better conditions and assembled conveniently, with the help of cranes and under conditions which would shorten the construction cycle. We are trying to introduce the so-called multiple-module building. Increased design automation is of great importance to us, for designing a ship requires a huge amount of documentation.

[Question] How are you doing with computerization?

[Answer] We are one of its pioneers. We introduced computerization 15 years ago. Particularly in designing and laying a hull we do not apply the same procedures as in other types of manufacturing. We use automation in our computations. However, we have still not developed this capability in terms of hull design. No more than 10 to 12 percent of this work is done with automatic machines, bearing in mind that the hull design accounts for 70 percent of the total ship design.

[Question] Are you using domestic electronic equipment?

[Answer] Bulgarian microcomputers may be used only for some peripheral terminals. Nothing else is available at this stage. We are using much more complex computers with greater possibilities and range, which are currently in very short supply.

[Question] Going back to the scientific and technical revolution! How can we make a qualitative leap?

[Answer] Indeed, today our tasks are more complex than ever before. We cannot continue at the same pace and in the same manner. We need, above all, high labor efficiency. We must automate production processes from design to the completion of the ship. All units must be synchronized. We must not develop new work areas but automate those we have and release manpower which is so scarce.

[Question] Are the people overworked? How stressed is the situation in the work areas?

[Answer] At the institute we are facing many serious problems in making use of the people, although we are engaged in a great variety of activities and some units carry an excessive load. All of this, however, is also related to skill and the good organization of labor and a great variety of other factors. I believe that the scientific and technical revolution must start with the full utilization of the scientific and creative potential of every person and the creation of conditions for the use of the human potential; automation is the second factor, for by itself equipment cannot solve our problems.

[Question] Do we have good designers?

[Answer] We have good designers with creative imagination, well informed and knowledgeable....

[Question] If we had to rate the IQ of our designers, what would it be?

[Answer] It is very difficult to provide a comprehensive assessment for the simple reason that we are not accustomed to giving IQ tests although this is well and usefully practiced throughout the world.... Perhaps the hiring of young designers should involve the use of IQ tests. The competition principle, however, is also necessary and, I would even say, mandatory. In my view, we should not speak of an average IQ. The smaller part of the

collective consists of people who have all the qualities of designers of such complex systems. They are also people who are developed as individuals and can adopt a proper approach to difficult problems and not only to their strictly specialized assignments. These are the people who develop concepts, issue projections and lead our shipbuilding to higher levels.

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CSO: 2200/77

## FOREIGN NEWSMEN VISIT JZD SLUSOVICE

Brno ROVNOST in Czech 7 Apr 87 p 1

[Text] Gottwaldov (oz)z--Foreign newsmen, accredited to Czechoslovakia for the occasion of a visit by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev at the Prague Press Center, arrived yesterday in our kraj. In Gottwaldov they were welcomed by the leading secretary of the Okres Committee CPCZ Vaclav Valenta and chairman of the Okes National Committee Frantisek Kubis. Journalists from Bulgaria, Finland, France, USSR, Sweden, and the United States then visited JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice, a significant agricultural enterprise in South Moravia which has embarked successfully on developing direct contacts with foreign partners. The newsmen were briefed on the subject by the cooperative's general manager Engr. Frantisek Cuba, Candidate of Sciences, and by the chairman of the enterprise Communist Party organization Pavel Cmolik who, among others, informed Joel Lumien of the French daily L'HUMANITE about the cooperation with French experts in cultivating corn by the KSL [expansion unknown] method. Similarly, Yevgenyi Nefyedyev found out about the expansion of mutually beneficial contacts with our Soviet friends. A lively discussion ensued about the operating methods which make it possible to translate rapidly R&D results into practice. An informal press conference at the Hotel Slusovice in Vsemin enabled the newsmen a view of the JZD management and an analysis of problems which sometimes prevent progress. Information concerning improvements in the exchange of information between countries with different social systems was also passed on.

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## SWEDISH FIRM CONTRACTS TO BUILD HOTEL

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 26 Mar 87 p 11

[Article by Eva Stenstrom: "ABV Is Building in the GDR"; first paragraph is SVENSKA DAGBLADET introduction]

[Text] The ABV Construction Company has contracted to build a hotel in East Germany for nearly 500 million kronor. At the same time, management is now getting a hold on foreign operations which are sustaining losses.

The hotel is to be erected in Dresden, and construction will start right after summer holidays. The dedication is to take place in February 1990, in conjunction with the 45th anniversary of the city's destruction in World War II.

"We have had some problems with foreign operations, not with the planning, but rather with foreign subsidiaries. For that reason, this is enormously gratifying. It's a pleasure when you achieve your goal," says Sven-Ake Johansson, company president since the start of the year.

Despite the Swedish construction divisions' improving profitability, the company's earnings fell during 1986. The subsidiaries in the United States and Denmark were the prime contributors to last year's loss of about 280 million crowns in foreign operations. For that reason, management is now reviewing its foreign obligations; which markets are to be served, and with which products. On 1 May, a separate division, ABV International, is taking over foreign operations. Its head is going to be the current chief of the Goteborg division, Folke Simren.

"Rallying strength," says Johansson.

ABV's foreign obligations this year are estimated at 1.7 billion kronor, about the same as in 1986, when the total volume was 9.4 billion. But the contract for a hotel in East Germany (GDR) worth about a half billion kronor is expected to increase the total for foreign operations.

#### Biggest Project in the East

The construction of this hotel is the largest project that ABV has undertaken in the East, and the first hotel in the GDR, where the company has

been operating since 1974. Together with 32 others, it will be part of the GDR's "Interhotel" chain, and is to be located in Dresden's old city center near the restored Semper opera house. The building, which will employ Swedish and Scandinavian personnel to a large extent, will have a good 350 rooms, banquet halls, four restaurants and a discotheque. To give the new building the atmosphere of the old days, and to give the impression of its being several buildings, the hotel's facade will be divided into several "sections" with different colors and decoration.

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CSO: 3650/107

## INNER-GERMAN TRADE: POSITIVE TREND, FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

West Berlin DIW WOCHEBERICHT in German Vol 54 No 11, 12 Mar 87 pp 146-153

[Text] The 1986 development of inner-German trade was marked by very diverse influences. As expected, the price collapse of oil and oil products produced turnover losses (in the amount of DM1.25 billion). At constant prices, though, turnover increased by more than 4 percent. Real growth, therefore, was greater than in the average of any year since 1970. Positive results were recorded in the investment goods sector, particularly machine construction. The GDR made large-scale purchases; FRG deliveries increased substantially, mainly toward the end of last year. The GDR thereby accepted a fairly considerable deficit in its 1986 trading balance with the FRG, though--due to lower prices--it registered lower earnings in the oil business, amounting to DM380 million. Increased GDR purchases of machines (DM600 million) provided the decisive contribution to the stabilization of inner-German trade in 1986.

This confirms that GDR economic policy is once more directed toward growth and ready to loosen up its earlier strict consolidation in trade with the West. However, it is certainly not appropriate to believe in the resurgence of the policy of loan financed imports on the model of the 1970's. In the interest of the future growth of inner-German trade, both parties should therefore endeavor to revive the flow of commodities from the GDR.

## Diverse Trends in the Commodities Traffic

According to the data of the Federal Office of Statistics, inner-German commodities turnover (deliveries plus purchases) declined by more than 8 percent last year. This had happened last in 1967. However, the decrease was entirely price related: According to DIW calculations, turnover actually rose by 4 percent in real terms. At 5 percent, FRG deliveries to the GDR expanded more strongly in real terms than purchases from the GDR (3.5 percent). (See Tables 1 and 2)

Last year's constellation is contrary to the formerly usual development, characterized by some enormous price increases and improvements in the terms of trade in favor of the GDR. These price increases made for the illusion of continued strong growth and actually concealed the real trend. The nominal

turnover trend in the average of the 1970's, for example, amounted to 8.7 percent--but to only 2 percent in real terms. In the 1980's nominal and real turnover development was almost identical at just under 5 percent.

The nominal decline in the 1986 turnover is to be largely ascribed to the oil business. Purchases of oil products from the GDR dropped by DM807 million, sales of oil to the GDR by DM427 million. This roughly corresponds to the total decline of turnover in inner-German commodity traffic.

1986 developments should nevertheless be described as satisfactory. This applies specially to deliveries to the GDR. The declining trend with respect to oil and hard coal as well as chemical products was compensated to a truly astonishing extent by increased GDR purchases in the sector of capital and even consumer goods. FRG deliveries of products of the capital goods industries, for example, rose by 40 percent, of machine construction products by as much as 85 percent (see Table 3). GDR purchases grew spectacularly in the course of the year: Half the annual deliveries were made in the last 3 months of 1986.

As regards FRG purchases, no compensation was recorded for the GDR's reduced earnings from oil products. Only capital goods showed a noticeable percentage growth at 14 percent. The increase amounted to 22 percent for products of the machine construction industry. This may indicate a change, because this sector had steadily lost in importance and shrunk to a fairly minimal residual item (in 1985 to less than 3 percent of all purchases from the GDR; see Table 4).

For various reasons the GDR was unable to improve its trade balance with respect to the products of the consumer goods industries and the farm/food sector. In the farm sector it is confronted with quotas. 1986 cuts in the quotas resulted in a considerable drop of purchases of farm products from the GDR. This sector's share in total purchases has steadily declined in the past 20 years (5-year averages respectively, with the exception of 1986):

	Percentages
1966-1970	25.6
1971-1975	19.5
1976-1980	14.3
1981-1985	10.3
1986	9.6

The value of farm products and foodstuffs purchases from the GDR was the same in 1986 as in 1976.

Purchases of industrial consumer goods from the GDR rose by 3 percent in 1986. Due to the last year's weakness of the dollar, the GDR was exposed even more to the competition of third countries and therefore compelled to suffer market losses in the FRG by comparison with these countries.

In contrast to the situation in the early 1980's, the FRG showed an excess of deliveries in 1986 commodity traffic. This achieved a dimension not equalled for a long time. The price related net drop in the GDR's oil business (reduced earnings from the sale of oil products balanced against the savings in the purchase of crude) in inner-German trade amounted to approximately DM380 million. The GDR nevertheless increased its purchases of machine construction products by roughly DM600 million--almost doubling them. The increase in the deficit is therefore not due entirely to the oil price trend but also to the GDR's purchasing policy.

The FRG's accumulated net balance--in other words the accumulated balance from commodities and services traffic plus the accumulated balance on the special S account at the German Bundesbank--rose in 1986 by DM500-700 million (=clearing units=VE) to more than DM4 billion. This means that the GDR's relative debt--the ratio between the accumulated balance and its commodity deliveries to the FRG--rose to 60 percent. Still, the top values of earlier years were well above that. This indicates that the GDR no longer considers necessary any further consolidation in its trade with the FRG.

1986 was the first year of the new swing regulation. This provides for an annual interest free overdraft facility limit of DM850 million--a rise of DM250 million by comparison with 1985. However, swing was called upon at only DM185 million in the average of 1986, that is it was used to only 22 percent. This amounted to the least use in the history of inner-German trade (see Table 5). As in earlier years, swing had very little economic significance in 1986, too. This GDR behavior may have political reasons, because it is difficult to think of any possible economic reasons--unless the GDR hopes to thereby strengthen its position as a debtor on Western credit markets.

The FRG's purchasing policy in 1986 was characterized by divergent trends: Quota increases in the industrial and commercial sectors were accompanied by quota reductions in the farm sector. As in 1985, some commodities among industrial goods were liberalized (1986: 15); quota increases ranged from DM40-50 million. In this sector, therefore, the Federal Government displayed the "promised" flexibility.(1) In the farm sector, on the other hand, the DM60 million reduction in the quotas for cattle and meat involved a one third decline in the purchases of these commodities. The reduction in these quotas (value quotas(2)) is related to price reductions for cattle and meat. In some instances, especially with regard to slaughter bulls, the volume of purchases was also much reduced. No increases in quotas worth mentioning counteracted these cuts, nor are there any signs of change visible at this time.

The volume of cattle and meat purchased from the GDR had the following weight with regard to production and consumption in 1985--that is before the quota cuts: For pork they accounted for 1 percent of domestic production and for 0.8 percent of consumption in the FRG (including West Berlin). For beef these percentages amounted to 1.6 and 1.9 respectively. In 1985 the FRG met 86 percent of its domestic demand for pork from its own production. The volume purchased from the FRG accounted for 5 percent of imports. In the case

of beef, the FRG produced more than it consumed in 1985 (extent of self-sufficiency: 116 percent). Compared with FRG imports, purchases in inner-German trade amounted to 8 percent.

In view of this minor importance, we are bound to ask ourselves in how far the Federal Government was actually "compelled" to follow up the development of prices by the corresponding reduction in value quotas. It is even more questionable why it did not at least create corresponding "compensatory positions" in the meaning of quota increases for other products in the farm sector. A trade friendly or trade encouraging purchasing policy might have used the 1986 price trend to cut through the thicket of quotas in the farm sector and abolish some "veterans of the quota register."

#### On Future Trends

The 1986 result seems suited to remind us of the basic problems of inner-German trade. For the GDR these consist in its great need for imports--balanced by only very limited export opportunities. This compels the GDR in the short run either to impose import restrictions (as in 1984, when FRG deliveries dropped by more than DM0.5 billion) or to incur loan financed balance of trade deficits (as in 1986). In the long term, therefore, it will be imperative to increase the opportunities for GDR sales, in other words strengthen the GDR's ability to deliver and the FRG's readiness to buy. The latter is determined not only by entrepreneurial decisions but also by measures in the administrative sector (quotas, and so on).

The GDR complains of the FRG's lack of willingness to buy GDR products. As a result of the quotas, that is the restrictions on the value and volume of purchases of specific products, existing opportunities have not been used. Efforts to sell to the GDR, lately increasingly undertaken by FRG politicians, can be successful only if opportunities for the sale of GDR products are improved with equal emphasis, whether by the establishment of a favorable climate for trade or by improved information. In any case we should not forget that the GDR's increased placement of orders can continue only if everything is done in the FRG to improve the opportunities for the sale of GDR products.

One approach to the expansion of trade involves the financing of FRG deliveries. From the aspect of "mutual benefit," this may mean especially such major projects as the recently discussed desulfurization of GDR brown coal power plants by means of West German equipment.(3) Realization of such a project would benefit the GDR population, Berliners and residents of FRG regions bordering on the GDR. According to the calculations of Western firms regarding environmental investments and rough DIW calculations of the costs of desulfurizing GDR power plants, a comprehensive project for the desulfurization of all GDR brown coal power plants would have to be estimated to cost about DM6 billion--if the aim is to reduce SO<sub>2</sub> emissions from these sources (amounting to 2.8 million tons in 1985) by at least 75 percent. FRG industry estimates that the GDR's own industrial output may contribute about half.

Opinions in the FRG vary with regard to the financing of such deliveries within the framework of inner-German trade. They range from the proposal that these plants should be offered the GDR as a gift to the demand for immediate GDR payment for these installations or for the GDR to finance them by loans on normal market terms. Each of these proposals tends to be one-sided. It would be more realistic to suggest that the FRG should provide direct subsidies or low interest loans by way of the Reconstruction Loan Corporation, for example.

Still, the GDR would have to repay such loans also. The project for the desulfurization of GDR brown coal power plants could be much facilitated if an opportunity were found for the GDR to earn accounting units by providing goods and services. Of course such goods and services should also be of interest to the FRG. One suggestion would be to link desulfurization with the modernization of railroad traffic from and to Berlin. The costs hitherto mentioned in this connection are of about the same dimension as the necessary purchases of environmental equipment. The GDR could carry out the construction work and use the accounting units earned thereby to finance the environmental project. The FRG, for its part, could use the improvement of the Berlin traffic to in ideal circumstances combine German political objectives and environmental benefits in the field of inner-German trade.

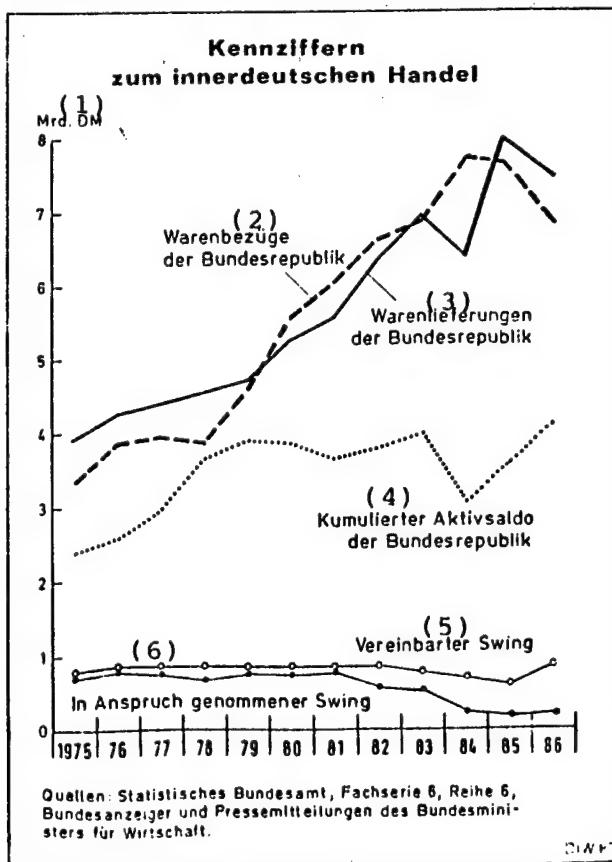
Disregarding such on-off projects, the following remains the cardinal issue of inner-German trade: How may the GDR be enabled to earn accounting units by its own performance? By no means all opportunities have yet been exhausted--provided there is the will to purchase from the GDR. The trade obstructing quota setting by the Federal Ministry for Economics has by now reached proportions that cannot be justified by any rationale whatever. At least the Federal Government has repeatedly stated (one example is No 63 of the latest annual economic report) that good economic relations "continue to be an important and stabilizing element in the overall relations between the two German countries."

On the other hand, the GDR will have to make greater efforts to improve its ability to make deliveries in inner-German trade. It is imperative above all to offer and supply more high-quality products. Moreover the GDR will have to improve its marketing. The frequently monopolized selling methods in inner-German trade will have to be exhaustively scrutinized, encrustations in market structures removed and even some entrenched habits abandoned.

It will be equally important to introduce new performance elements to revitalize inner-German trade. This applies mainly to the services sector in the widest meaning, above all the exchange of immaterial services.(4) The positive experiences gained from commission manufacturing should encourage the expansion of this type of cooperation. For the GDR it offers the prospect of achieving quality and productivity effects while saving or even earning foreign exchange. The Federal Government has repeatedly stressed its interest in this type of cooperation and signaled flexibility: It might "possibly consider whether and in how far enterprise cooperation may be promoted by granting preferential treatment to purchases in sensitive sectors arising from joint projects--by special quotas or exemption from existing value or volume restrictions, analogous to the special cooperation quotas in existence vis-a-vis some other state trading countries."(5)

The GDR would be well advised to concentrate its investments on the promotion of world market competitive enterprises and combines. It would be well to expand the tentative practice of granting foreign exchange rights in case the export plan is overfulfilled. The same holds true for the assignment of premiums for exports. Finally the GDR should demonstrate more good will with regard to the issue of inter-enterprise cooperation.

Graph 1: Indicators on Inner-German Trade

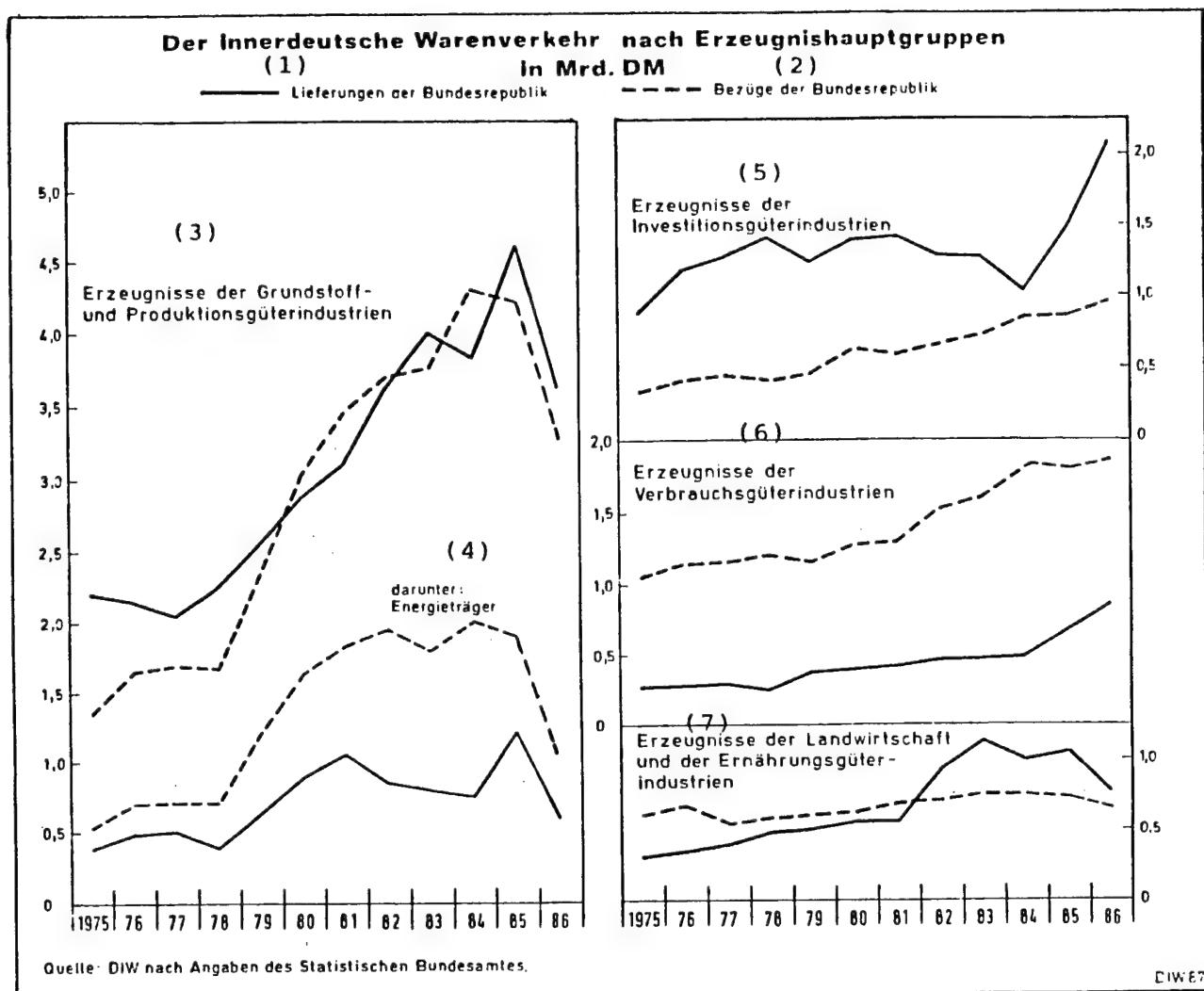


**Key:**

1. Billion DM
2. Commodity purchases by the FRG
3. Commodity deliveries by the FRG
4. Accumulated credit balance of the FRG
5. Agreed swing
6. Swing actually called upon

Sources: Federal Office of Statistics, technical series 6, No 6  
BUNDESANZEIGER and PRESSEMITTEILUNGEN DES BUNDESMINISTERIUM FUER  
WIRTSCHAFT

Graph 2: Inner-German Commodity Traffic by Main Product Groups  
(in billion DM)



**Key:**

1. FRG deliveries	5. Products of the capital goods industries
2. FRG purchases	6. Products of the consumer goods industries
3. Products of the basic materials and production goods industries	7. Products of agriculture and the food industries
4. among the above: energy sources	

Source: DIW from data of the Federal Office of Statistics

Table 1: Nominal and Real Development of Inner-German Trade Since 1970

Year	Increase in Commodity Traffic (1) Compared With Previous Year					
	At Current Prices			At Constant Prices (2)		
	Purchases	Deliveries	Turnover	Purchases	Deliveries	Turnover
Percentages						
1970	27.5	6.3	15.0	-	-	-
1971	16.2	3.4	9.2	15.1	3.0	8.5
1972	2.7	17.2	10.2	1.6	15.3	8.7
1973	11.7	2.4	6.6	- 3.5	- 6.1	- 4.9
1974	22.3	22.4	22.4	- 3.6	1.6	- 0.8
1975	2.8	6.8	4.9	4.9	5.6	5.3
1976	16.0	8.9	12.1	6.6	3.9	5.1
1977	2.2	3.3	2.8	1.8	3.0	2.5
1978	- 1.5	3.8	1.2	1.1	3.5	2.4
1979	17.7	3.2	9.8	- 9.1	- 3.7	- 6.0
1980	21.6	12.2	16.8	5.6	2.8	4.0
1981	8.4	5.3	6.9	- 1.4	- 2.6	- 2.1
1982	9.7	14.5	12.0	10.3	12.3	11.4
1983	3.6	8.8	6.2	6.0	7.7	6.9
1984	12.6	- 7.8	2.4	7.3	- 11.6	- 3.3
1985	- 1.4	23.3	9.8	- 2.9	25.8	11.8
1986	- 10.5	- 5.7	- 8.1	3.5	4.9	4.3

(1) Of the FRG including West Berlin.---(2) Taking into account the development of prices calculated by DIW.

Sources: Federal Office of Statistics: "Commodity Traffic with the German Democratic Republic and East Berlin," Technical Series 6, No 6 (annual issues and December 1986); DIW computations.

Table 2: Price Trend in Inner-German Trade

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
--	------	------	------	------	------	------

Price Trends for Total Trade

Percentage change by comparison  
with the previous year

Deliveries (1)	8.1	1.9	1.1	4.4	- 2.0	-10.0
Purchases (1)	10.0	- 0.5	- 2.3	4.9	1.5	-13.5
Terms of trade (2)	- 1.7	2.5	3.5	- 0.5	- 3.4	4.1

Index (1970 = 100)

Deliveries (1)	180	184	186	194	190	171
Purchases (1)	256	255	249	261	265	229
Terms of trade (2)	71	72	75	74	72	75

Price Trends by Commodity Groups

Index of deliveries (1)  
(1970 = 100)

Products of the

Basic materials and pro- duction goods industries	183	185	186	191	188	154
Capital goods industries	188	199	204	200	207	212
Consumer goods industries	150	155	150	157	155	148
Agriculture and food industries	176	169	174	203	181	158

Index of purchases (1)  
(1970 = 100)

Products of the

Basic materials and pro- duction goods industries	372	364	350	373	382	281
Capital goods industries	145	150	154	155	158	155
Consumer goods industries	173	175	172	178	182	184
Agriculture and food industries	151	152	151	157	147	135

(1) Of the FRG including West Berlin

(2) Export prices: Import prices x 100

Sources: DIW computations from data in: Federal Office of Statistics:  
"Commodity Traffic with the German Democratic Republic and East  
Berlin," Technical Series 6, No 6 (annual issues and monthly issues

1986); "Prices and Price Indices for Imports and Exports," Technical Series 17, No 8, "Prices and Price Indices for Industrial Products (Manufacturers' Prices), Technical Series 17, No 2.

Table 3: FRG Deliveries (1) in Inner-German Trade by Commodity Groups

Product Groups or Products	1985	1986	Change Com- pared with Previous Year		Structure	
					1985	1986
			million DM	Percentage		
Products of the Basic and Production Goods Industries (2)	4,601	3,615	- 986	-21.4	58.2	48.5
Includes: Mining products	1,122	544	- 578	-51.5	14.2	7.3
Hard coal and coke	384	249	- 135	-35.2	4.9	3.3
Crude oil	706	279	- 427	-60.5	8.9	3.7
Iron and steel (3)	931	922	- 10	- 1.0	11.8	12.4
Blast furnace products	625	626	1	0.2	7.9	8.4
Nonferrous metals (4)	736	605	- 131	-17.8	9.3	8.1
Silver	302	234	- 68	-22.5	3.8	3.1
Chemical products (5)	1,547	1,339	- 208	-13.4	19.6	18.0
Anorganic basic materials & chemicals	243	207	- 35	-14.5	3.1	2.8
Organic basic materials & chemicals	624	446	- 178	-28.5	7.9	6.0
Synthetics and synthetic products (6)	278	266	- 12	- 4.4	3.5	3.6
Products of the industries manufacturing capital goods	1,477	2,089	611	41.4	18.7	28.0
Including: Rail vehicles	150	133	- 17	-11.2	1.9	1.8
Machine construction products	698	1,284	586	84.0	8.8	17.2
Metalworking and testing machines	229	412	184	80.5	2.9	5.5
Paper, textile and sewing machines	148	331	183	124.1	1.9	4.4
Plant for the chemical industry and machines & equipment for mining	163	207	44	27.2	2.1	2.8
Watercraft	168	0	- 168	-99.9	2.1	0.0
Electrical engineering products	237	356	119	50.0	3.0	4.8
Products of industries manufacturing consumer goods	692	862	169	24.5	8.8	11.6
Including: Textiles	301	349	47	15.8	3.8	4.7
Shoes	129	201	72	55.7	1.6	2.7
Clothing	83	112	29	34.4	1.1	1.5

Agricultural products (7)	1,047	782	- 265	-25.3	13.3	10.5
Raw oils	199	77	- 121	-61.0	2.5	1.0
Oil cake & rough grinds	407	336	- 70	-17.3	5.1	4.5
Sugar, processed fruit and candy	106	91	- 14	-13.7	1.3	1.2
Coffee	79	99	20	24.9	1.0	1.3
All products (8)	7,901	7,454	- 447	- 5.7	100.0	100.0

Divergence in totals due to rounding off.

(1) Including West Berlin.--(2) Including mining products.--(3) Including foundry products as well as products of drawing mills, cold rolling mills and steel conversion.--(4) Including semifinished goods.--(5) Including synthetic products and rubber goods.--(6) Including synthetic caoutchuc.--(7) Including hunting, forestry and fishery.--(8) Including miscellaneous commodities.

Sources: Federal Office of Statistics: "Commodity Traffic with the German Democratic Republic and East Berlin,: Technical Series 6, No 6 (annual issue 1985 and monthly issue December 1986).

Table 4: FRG Purchases (1) in Inner-German Trade by Commodity Groups

Product Groups or Products	1985	1986	Change Com- pared With Previous Year		Structure	
			million DM	Percentage	1985	1986
Products of the basic materials & production goods industries (2)	4,225	3,293	- 932	- 22.1	55.3	48.2
Including: Gasoline	284	161	- 123	- 43.3	3.7	2.4
Diesel fuel/heating oil	1,267	617	- 650	- 51.3	16.6	9.0
Iron and Steel (3)	568	626	57	10.1	7.4	9.2
Nonferrous metals (4)	407	383	- 24	- 6.0	5.3	5.6
Chemical products (5)	1,007	887	- 120	- 11.9	13.2	13.0
Anorganic basic materials & chemicals	110	90	- 20	- 18.3	1.4	1.3
Organic basic materials & chemicals	247	257	9	3.8	3.2	3.8
Synthetics & synthetic products (6)	318	272	- 46	- 14.4	4.2	4.0
Products of industries manufacturing capital goods	847	965	118	13.9	11.1	14.1
Including: Machine construction products	220	268	48	21.6	2.9	3.9
Electrical engineering products	323	367	43	13.4	4.2	5.4
Iron, sheet and metal goods	147	149	2	1.0	1.9	2.2

Products of the consumer goods industries	1,806	1,863	57	3.2	23.6	27.3
Including: Glass and glassware	108	116	8	7.1	1.4	1.7
Woodware	339	349	9	2.7	4.4	5.1
Furniture	291	265	- 27	-	9.1	3.8
Textiles	551	534	- 17	-	3.1	7.2
Domestics	148	148	0	0.3	1.9	2.2
Hosiery and knitwear	252	229	- 22	-	8.9	3.3
Clothing	496	523	26	5.3	6.5	7.7
Outerwear (7)	311	309	- 2	-	0.7	4.1
Agricultural Products (8) & products of the essential and non-essential food industries	727	655	- 72	-	9.9	9.5
Including: Cereals	162	152	- 10	-	6.1	2.1
Slaughter cattle (9)	259	178	- 81	-	31.2	3.4
Sugar and candy (10)	114	122	7	6.5	1.5	1.8
Total products (11)	7,636	6,831	-805	- 10.5	100.0	100.0

Divergences in totals due to rounding off.

(1) Including West Berlin.---(2) Including mining products.---(3) Including foundry products as well as products of drawing mills, cold rolling mills and steel conversion.---(4) Including semifinished goods.---(5) Including synthetic products and rubber goods.---(6) Including synthetic rubber.---(7) Including processed tobacco goods and furs.---(8) Including hunting, forestry and fisheries.---(9) Including fresh pork.---(10) Including processed fruit.--- (11) Including miscellaneous commodities.

Sources: Federal Office of Statistics: "Commodity Traffic with the German Democratic Republic and East Berlin," Technical Series 6, No 6 (annual issue 1985 and monthly issue December 1986).

Table 5: Indicators on Inner-German Trade

	Unit	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Commodity Traffic (1)									
Purchases (2)	bill.DM	3.34	5.58	6.05	6.64	6.88	7.74	7.64	6.83
Deliveries (2)	bill.DM	3.92	5.29	5.58	6.38	6.95	6.41	7.91	7.45
Turnover	bill.DM	7.26	10.87	11.63	13.02	13.83	14.15	15.54	14.29
Balance	bill.DM	0.58	-0.29	-0.48	-0.26	0.07	-1.34	0.27	0.62
Services (3)									
Purchases (2)	mill.DM	169	438	486	536	867	752	822	860
Deliveries (2)	mill.DM	526	932	1038	1138	1209	1300	1272	1197
Turnover	mill.DM	695	1370	1524	1674	2076	2052	2094	2057
Balance	mill.DM	357	494	552	602	342	548	450	337

Financing Indicators										
Accumulated surplus (4)	bill.DM	12.39	3.87	3.65	3.80	4.10	3.10	3.60	4.10	
Agreed swing	mill.DM	790	850	850	850	770	690	600	850	
Swing used (5)	mill.DM	711	745	676	582	543	210	170	185	
GDR payments via the special "S" account	mill.DM	161	12	19	66	73	70	50	50	
Relative debt (6)	%	72	69	60	57	60	40	47	60	
Use of swing (7)	%	90	88	80	68	71	30	28	22	
Percentage of swing financing (8)	%	30	19	19	15	13	7	5	5	
Swing:purchase ratio	%	21	13	11	9	8	3	2	3	

(1) According to data of the Federal Office of Statistics. For methodological reasons they differ from the data of the Federal Government published in BUNDESANZEIGER.--(2) Of the FRG including West Berlin.--(3) Account No III of the Berlin Agreement: Purchases=passive services=FRG spending including the lump sum for postal services agreed with the GDR (1983-1990: DM200 million per annum); deliveries=active services=FRG revenues.--(4) FRG surplus balance, financing balance from commodity traffic according to Federal Government data, services and cash payment account (special "S" account) per 31 December.--(5) Swing actually used by the GDR in the average of the year.--(6) Ratio of accumulated surplus to commodity purchases from the GDR.--(7) Swing actually used as a percentage of the agreed swing.--(8) Ratio of swing actually used to the accumulated surplus.--(9) Ratio of swing actually used to commodity purchases from the GDR.

Sources: Federal Office of Statistics: "Commodity Traffic with the German Democratic Republic and East Berlin," Technical Series 6, No 6 (annual issues and December 1986).--Data from the Federal Ministry for Economics.--DIW computations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Fritz Homann: "On the Future of Inner-German Trade," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV No 10/1986, p 1094.
2. Value quota setting represents the method of controlling purchases from the GDR. For "fine tuning" with respect to live cattle and slaughtered pigs there are also the so-called weekly quotas--quantitative quotas for each week. The weekly quotas were introduced on the one hand to stop additional purchases from the GDR in the case of price reductions, on the other to prevent the concentration of purchases in any particular period so as to avoid "market upsets."

3. See Cord Schwartau: "Clean Air--An Inner-German Business," ARBEITGEBER No 18/1984, pp 702 ff. In the meantime many politicians have offered proposals for cooperation in this field, for example the governing mayor of Berlin, the Federal Minister for Economics and the Federal Chancellor (see his interview with the NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG of 25 February 1987). According to press reports, the parties to the current coalition negotiations have agreed that the future Federal Government should "offer the GDR financial and technical assistance in the field of clean air policy" (see SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 26 February 1987, p 2). General Secretary Honecker, too, recently stressed the importance of cooperation in the field of environmental control; see NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7/8 February 1987, p 3f.
4. From the GDR standpoint also, "the intensive forms of East-West trade such as industrial cooperation and joint ventures still have a minor role" in the trade between the two German countries; see Juergen Nitz: "GDR-FRG Economic Relations. Determining Factors, Trends and Problems," German translation of a contribution to a collection published by the Institute for East-West Security Studies," mimeographed, p 12. See also Horst Lambrecht: "Inner-German Trade--1985 Trend and Prospects," in INDUSTRIE- UND HANDELSREVUE No 1/1986, pp 16ff.
5. Fritz Homann, as before, p 1093.

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## REGIONAL BANK PRESIDENT ON DOMESTIC CREDIT POLICY

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 18 Feb 87 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Tynecki, president of the Gorzow branch of the Polish National Bank, by Aleksander Wolski]

[Question] Many people say that they will believe in economic reform when they see a bankruptcy. Yet we know that the financial condition of a couple of Gorzow enterprises has been bad for the last few years, but we have not heard that any of them have bankrupted. Why?

[Answer] Before I proceed to generalities, I could like to cite a telling example of the Gorzow MEBLOSTYL, about which a great deal has been recently written in our newspapers. Last year when we examined the economic figures from this cooperative, we came to the conclusion that things are going badly there. We therefore forced the management to prepare a program to correct the deficiencies as a condition for further credits. The program was prepared, but it consisted mainly of slogans, brought in nothing new, and provided no guarantee that credit eligibility would be restored. Therefore, the bank decided that the program was unrealistic and rated it unfavorably. But MEBLOSTYL paid off the credit, stopped using it, and did not bankrupt. It probably received financial assistance from the National Union of Labor Cooperatives, and in amounts larger than our credits. It is somehow getting along without the bank's help. Its further fate now lies exclusively in its own hands and those of its parent agency.

[Question] Is that why we have not seen a bankruptcy?

[Answer] The goal of the law on improving the management of a state enterprise is to compel an improvement in management under threat of bankruptcy. It is not the intent of the law to bring about a bankruptcy in every case of a financial breakdown. What needs to be done in first order, therefore, is to take many corrective actions to prevent bankruptcy. In any case, experience has shown that most of the firms which institute corrective programs do quite well and their management efficiency is higher than the voivodship average.

The fact that many weak enterprises obtain various reliefs is also not insignificant. For example, in 1985 a good number of plants which were in

trouble due to incorrect relationships between wages and productivity, had to pay a tax on above-norm wages which was sometimes as high as the profit for division. And what happened? The Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs refunded or forgave this tax in almost all instances. And this immediately changed their financial status and negated the bank's disciplinary actions.

I think that in the second stage of economic reform the law I mentioned will be put into effect with greater consistency. But the cooperation of all institutions which have an impact on an enterprise's financial situation is essential.

[Question] What, then, is the financial situation of the Gorzow enterprises?

[Answer] We know that the past year was not a good one for the industrial and construction enterprises. Production dropped, mainly due to difficulties in obtaining materials. Most enterprises did not record a gain either in quality of production or in labor productivity. But this regression did not play too large a part in the financial condition of the enterprises. Profit in the industrial enterprises grew 4 percent last year (over 8 percent for division), and in the construction enterprises it rose 23 percent. In part, the increase in profits was attributed to a growth in prices.

[Question] And what does the bank have to say about this?

[Answer] If obvious mistakes appear, we rate solvency as being unstable and can take action by reducing the amounts of the credits or tightening the conditions under which they can be received.

[Question] Ten Gorzow plants are now implementing corrective programs. What were the reasons for their financial difficulties?

[Answer] The managements of these enterprises try to tell us that these are objective reasons, not of their doing. But we, as a bank, are interested only in the reasons which lie in the plants themselves. Those which can be corrected without help from the outside.

I will give a few examples. The difficulties in PROKOM were caused mainly by a shortage of money to complete the investment, a shortage due in large measure to the imposition of a tax on profits. After a corrective program was instituted, sales doubled last year, export grew, and profitability and the share of allowances in profit for division to the development fund increased. The right things happened, therefore. It was the same in WUKO PRESKO in Debno. Insofar as the Gorzow Construction Materials Office is concerned, where the difficulties were due mainly to poor management, the board of commissioners brought about a big improvement in the financial condition. But this does not mean that this Office can rest on its laurels. The program is still being continued this year under the control of the bank.

[Question] During the last plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, the following was said: "...we see a disturbing phenomenon: The enterprises are avoiding the borrowing of bank credits, mainly for investment and development.

Currently, this applies to almost one-third of the enterprises in the voivodship." Is it possible, therefore, that the bank is complaining about a lack of customers on which it could earn money?

[Answer] On the one hand we are happy that these enterprises are more independent financially. Thanks to the bank's credit policies, their level of self-financing has been raised. But this year the bank will continue to limit credit for current operational activities. The enterprises will have to commit more of their own funds. At the same time, we are offering a broad range of investment credits. It is important that we be able to influence the way that the economy is modernized. Credits are supposed to stimulate a change in the economic structure in the desired direction. Yet the enterprises are not willing to take advantage of investment credits. Certainly the limited access to investment goods has an effect on this, but it is more than that, because a large number of investments are made out of their own funds.

[Question] Maybe these credits cost too much?

[Answer] No. For preferential operations, including export production, market production, pollution control, and scientific-technical advancement, we reduce the interest on credits. It is something else entirely. Credits which support an enterprise's development (investment, turnover, development credits) are not very popular because they have to be repaid out of the development fund. This reduces the fund during the period that the credits are being repaid, limits the freedom in managing and the division of profits.

[Question] Despite this, there are examples in Gorzow of the correct use of development credit.

[Answer] Yes. For example, thanks to credit assistance, GOZAMET-WUTCH has doubled its export sales, KOMES has opened a new plant in Slonsk in which it is producing clothing, and GOMAD will soon start production of machines for making matches, until now purchased abroad.

But we treat these few examples like the proverbial first swallow. Something good is beginning to happen, but the rate of economic transformations supported by bank development credits must be accelerated.

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CSO: 2600/458

## REGIONAL EDITORIALS SHARPLY ADDRESS ECONOMIC ISSUES

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Feb 87 p 3

[Text] For whatever reason, there is no lack of journalistic interest in economic reform. Even in the voivodship newspapers, a great deal is written on the subject, and willingly, without avoidance of severe criticism and argumentative opinions.

As written in GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: "There is large intermediate group between management headquarters and job positions. And that is where the "brakes" on reform can be found. I was told recently that a few years ago, when two ministries were combined, 36 positions were eliminated. Now, in this combined ministry, there are three more people working than before."

"Presumably the small socialized enterprises are being supported," continues the writer, "as being those which can most rapidly adapt themselves to changing management conditions. But not many people realize that in accordance with regulations, 'small' enterprises in Poland must number approximately 100 people. The support services alone in such an enterprise--bookkeeping, social services, health and safety, and the like--must number about 25 people. Those are the rules, created with large combines in mind and not small enterprises. Under these circumstances, is it not surprising that 'small is beautiful,' but difficult to achieve?"

In GLOS WYBRZEZA there is a "call for economic compulsion." That is the main point of R. Jaworski's article: ..."for scores of years in Poland, poor, sloppy and thus defective work, has not been linked with any threat to the existence of a worker and his family. A poor worker--due to lack of professional or intellectual preparation--has every chance to last, until retirement, in a position he was once able to obtain."

"... the wage geography in our country is an absurd swirl of the most diverse interests, shaped, or shall we say changing, according to the immediate needs determined by officials. Deputy ministers traveling throughout Poland with briefcases full of money have passed into history, but the mechanisms, unfortunately, remain."

"... social labor productivity (which applies equally to the managed and the managers) is extremely low in our country, and unemployment has been

flourishing for years, but only inside our workplaces, factories, offices and institutions, not outside. The very alarming proof of this point is the recently observed fact that production during the worst years of the 1980-1983 crisis shrunk quite drastically, while employment grew."

"... unemployment, contrary to many opinions, is not the best solution in this case. On the other hand, the best solution is restoration of economic compulsion, i.e., permitting radical differences between wages for good work and poor work. Not a 10, 15 or 30 percent difference. The differences must be multiple. Two, three or four times as much, maybe even more. We must protect the weak and the sick, but not the lazy... Please show me a workplace in which everyone is earning every penny he is being paid. There is always some excuse. After all, every one of us has served well. If not the firm, then the foreman or the manager."

"... tolerating the absurd work-wage ratios today can only be called the supremacy of stupidity over common sense. We need to take much larger steps than we have in the past. Seven-mile boots would really be useful."

TRYBUNA OPOLSKA quotes the opinions of economists in the Kedzierzyn Nitrogen Works. They believe that "staying with the cost-price formula is more of a brake on progress than an accelerator." They are "definitely in favor of applying transaction prices, i.e., (in simpler terms) world prices, taking into account the current exchange rate of the zloty in relation to the convertible currencies."

The economists in Kedzierzyn say that there are too many unknowns in the preparation of an enterprise plan. "We do not know how much something will cost for a month or 3 months. Therefore, we make a preliminary estimate, a prediction, and we present it to the client. If we guess too high in relation to what the price really is later, that is not too bad. But if we guess too low, the firm loses because nobody wants to pay more later and truthfully speaking, he does not have to. It is simpler to overestimate figures. Then the state treasury takes the excess."

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA reveals another example of coproduction blackmail. "The intensifying material shortages, the flourishing coproduction greed and the egoism of management--in the name of the factory three S's--make the often underscored need to export mining technology in addition to coal, very questionable (...)."

"It was sometimes necessary to import the Polish metallurgical products, at a price 25 percent higher, that had been sold earlier by our own mills to Western customers (...). CELMA, in Cieszyn, announced recently that it is reducing deliveries of electric motors to the mining industry because it is interested in developing its own export, unless the ministry invests a few billion zlotys and a couple million dollars in CELMA. It is also a fact that one of the cosmetic factories threatened MONTANA in Katowice that it would withhold deliveries of soap if it did not obtain additional investment capital from the mining industry. The machine tool factories are also reaching into the pockets of the mining industry."

According to Main Office of Statistics data, last year the Polish State Railroads hauled 430 million tons of freight, exceeding the plan. Yet, writes GAZETA POMORSKA, Janusz Kaminski, minister of transportation, reported to the Sejm Commission on Transport and Communications, that this year the railroads will only haul 425 million tons of freight and he complains that this task will be hard "mainly due to lack of rolling stock." The disparity raises the doubts of GAZETA POMORSKA, which says "how well you operate depends on how well you planned." We will probably hear again that there is a shortage of gondola cars in Silesia and that the railroad did not supply freight cars to haul the goods which are filling the warehouses. And the railroad will complain about the unreliability of its clients (...). The materials plan also determines the indicators in the budgetary law. The tasks will be greater than the minister thought, and this means that hauling costs will also be greater than had been planned. Will the minister demand larger subsidies from the government or larger increases in transport tariffs, including passenger? The planned increase in tariffs is already high, e.g., the commodity tariff increase is supposed to be 25 percent. What will the minister say to the railroad men, the Polish State Railroads employees, when bad planning puts up roadblocks to the execution of tasks?

9295

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## ROLE OF DOLLAR IN ECONOMY ADDRESSED IN EDITORTIALS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Mar 87 p 3

[Text] "We can understand why Salvador Dali's sketches sell in Gdansk for \$500 and more." writes SLOWO LUDU. "Dali is a surrealist and that is the explanation."

"Several times a day," writes the daily, "we hear about what can be bought in PEWEX. Color advertisements, ladies' almost-sexual moans, are supposed to entice us to buy something which is no luxury at all and, as a matter of fact, should be found in the corner kiosk. More and more, the citizen is being treated as if he were receiving a dollar allowance in addition to his earnings each month."

"And that is how, before our very eyes," continues the newspaper, "the first category of citizens arose--the dollar category. Let us make it very clear: No one got these dollars free. They were earned, not stolen, so we cannot blame anyone for having an account that is the key to paradise. But most citizens are paid in zlotys and constantly reminding them that they are earning hay is not at all polite. For the first category citizen there is the colored world of PEWEX, the colored reality in television. For others, it is the black-and-white ticket lottery and a 20-year wait for an apartment. So it is not at all surprising that more and more Poles, at almost any price, want to have a dollar account. If only to make Marek Kotanski happy. In order not to be humiliated several times a day, and who knows, maybe to the end of their lives. In order not to be a zlotys bum, but a dollar gentlemen."

We also find this "green" theme, in a sarcastic tone, in the columns of TRYBUNA LUDU.

"Why," asks one of their journalists, "in riding a Polish (!) State Railroads train on a trip outside of the socialist countries, do I have to pay for the ticket in convertible currencies? Why, in traveling to Yugoslavia, let us say, or Turkey, on a trip arranged by the Polish (!) Travel Office, do I have to pay in dollars? I suggest we be consistent. Not only should we collect donations to fight AIDS in dollars, but we should also add dollars to the price of everything which was purchased for dollars. For example, oranges purchased in Spain should be sold for US \$2 and 50 Polish zlotys; cognac, imported from France should be sold for US \$10 and 600 Polish zlotys, etc. I

would go even further. I would add dollar amounts to other goods (e.g., cigarettes, because after all, part of the tobacco and machinery used in their production is imported from the capitalist countries), and even services. If you drive an Icarus imported from Hungary, you pay in zlotys, but if it is a Berlieta, whose license (may the contracting parties have nightmares to this very day and night!) was purchased in France, you pay partly in zlotys and partly in cents.

It will be fair and consistent. But it would make the most sense to stop dealing in zlotys at all and replace them completely with cents and dollars. Because right now--and no one will be able to convince me that it is otherwise--two currencies are in effect in our country. And this practice cannot be explained entirely by inflation and indebtedness. Some people use these last two words as if they were passkeys, to explain or hush up this or that. But until the zloty becomes what it should be, which is the only currency in effect in a Polish state of Polish citizens, I will believe that the situation is abnormal."

Let us go back once more to SLOWO LUDU: "The role of the zloty in our economic life is faulty, and in international turnovers it really does not exist. We also know the reasons for this and could probably estimate the damage and calculate the losses that stem from this. In light of this, the highly indifferent attitude with which our economic policy approaches the question of strengthening our money, is surprising and irritating. Even during the construction of economic reform, based, after all, on decentralization, accountability and market laws, and then at a time of the most intensive reformation, the problem of the zloty remained in the background. And the striving for convertibility was reported only once in the 'Courses for Economic Reform' of July 1981."

"Currency reform a la Wladyslaw Grabski," sums up the daily, "is not possible today if only for social reasons, although there are others also. All we can do is try to strengthen the economy. That is, eliminate all kinds of state control; reduce (unfortunately, the converse occurs) trade in goods for foreign currency; and eliminate the apportionment of producer goods. The money-credit policy should gradually stabilize prices and wages, establish correct price ratios between different groups of goods and services, and rationally establish wage ratios in various occupational groups. The common practice today of subsidizing must become a thing of the past."

GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA reminds us that our economy is made up in 80 percent by large enterprises and only a little less than 20 percent are small plants fringing on small-scale production. Yet in many highly developed countries these proportions are exactly reversed.

"Somehow I cannot imagine," writes one of their journalists, "the elimination of inefficient and unprofitable giants. Certainly this cannot be done by conventional methods--it would really take revolutionary action. The degree to which the mechanisms of economic reform are being applied is generally proportionally inverse to the size of the economic organizations. Practically speaking, mining, metallurgy and the shipbuilding industry, remain outside of reform. An analysis of the effects of the bankruptcy of unprofitable

establishments (such cases, which were supposed to attest to the effectiveness of reform--as we know, also took place) would be highly interesting. I suspect that most of them were absorbed by the insatiable demons, often subsidized out of the state treasury."

"Priorities for electronics are empty words," writes GLOS POMORZA after a visit in KAZEL in Koszalin. "In the second and third quarters of last year there were frequent work stoppages due to lack of raw materials and other materials indispensable to production. The plants suffered losses amounting to tens of millions of zlotys. The losses borne by the national economy were greater, because they have to be multiplied by the stoppages in the subsequent elements of the chain called "Polish electronics."

"The present situation doesn't look rosy, either. Kazel is operating by literally using reamins of raw and other materials. But this does not mean that it is stopping production. In order to prevent this, a so-called "second economic cycle" has been established. Naturally, none of the workplaces will admit to such practices because they border on the illegal. But peculiar kinds of markets in which raw materials are traded for other materials, and the reverse, at freely fixed conversion rates, flourish."

"Priorities in materials for the electronics subsector," concludes GLOS POMORZA, "would appear to be obvious. After all, they are a matter of record in the important documents which define the strategy of our economic development. But they cannot seem to make it into practice. The traditional subsector arrangement in Poland always gives priority to the mining and heavy industries, which throughout the world have become synonymous with backwardness. In our countries they are still regarded as the most important."

9295  
CSO: 2600/458

POLITICS

BULGARIA

BCP CC DELEGATION'S TALKS WITH CPI IN INDIA

AU031824 Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] New Delhi, 3 April (BTA correspondent)--A delegation of the CC of the BCP, headed by Mr Khristo Maleev, member of the Central Committee and secretary of the Foreign Policy Matters Commission with the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP, paid a visit here at the invitation of the National Council of the Communist Party of India (CPI).

The Bulgarian guests conferred with a delegation of the CPI National Council led by Mr Mahmuddin Faruki [spelling of name as received], member of the Central Executive Committee and secretary of the party's National Council.

The CPI officials briefed the BCP CC delegation on the activities of the Communist Party, aimed to help the people of India preserve their democratic acquisitions and their unity and eliminate the imperialist subversion against that country. The head of the Bulgarian delegation told about the BCP activities in fulfillment of the decisions of the latest party congress. Some topical international issues were also on the agenda. The two parties reiterated their reciprocal desire for a further promotion of their relations.

Today the delegation of the CC of the BCP was received by Mr Chandra Rajeswara Rao, secretary general of the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

/12232  
CSO: 2200/86

## BULGARIAN-ANGOLAN ECONOMIC TALKS, PROTOCOL SIGNED

AU301903 Sofia BTA in English 1730 GMT 30 Mar 87

[Text] Sofia, 30 March (BTA)--A meeting was held here between the co-chairmen of the Bulgaro-Angolan Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Georgi Yordanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the Angolan by Ms Maria Mambo Cafe, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the MPLA-PT and state minister of economic and social affairs.

The two sides analysed bilateral economic cooperation and observed with satisfaction that positive results have been achieved.

Special attention is being paid to cooperation in mining, farming and lumbering as well as to the production of hoisting and hauling machines and water pumps in Angola.

Bulgaria will continue to render assistance to that country in town-planning, territorial planning and design.

The agreements for Bulgarian technical aid through sending specialists and training Angolan cadres in Bulgaria were extended.

The two sides signed a protocol on the talks.

Today Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Ms Maria Mambo Cafe. The talks concentrated on bilateral economic cooperation.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 30 March adds: "Comrade Georgi Atanasov received Antonio Enriques da Silva, Minister of Planning of Angola, as well."]

/12232  
CSO: 2200/86

## MARIY IVANOV SURVEYS FOREIGN POLICY SINCE CONGRESS

AU021108 Sofia BTA in English 1105 GMT 2 Apr 87

[BTA headline: "Constructive Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Sofia, 2 April (BTA)--Bulgaria's active stands in international life, her good relations with more than 120 states of the 5 continents were the basis which made it possible for the 13th Congress of the BCP to map out still more responsible tasks in the field of the foreign policy of this country, Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs writes today in RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

In an article prompted by the anniversary of the congress Mr Mariy Ivanov stresses that Bulgaria sees her place in the forefront of her struggle against militarism, aggression, adventurist nationalism and the foment of hostilities and conflicts.

Revolutionary optimism is a typical feature of modern Bulgaria's Leninist foreign policy, he writes, stressing that the prestige and influence of socialism in international life give grounds for this optimism. The positive phenomena in the internal development of the socialist countries, their improved interaction in the joint resolution of the practical tasks of socialist construction and in the formation and realization of their coordinated foreign policy course are turning into a driving force of this process.

The advance of the political thinking, seeking solution to contradictory issues exclusively in peaceful means and in respect of the interests of all states is also optimism-inspiring.

The article says that the two principal events which gave grounds for this optimism were Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of 15 January 1986, and the Reykjavik summit, when the prospects for an early elimination of strategic offensive weapons emerged as quite feasible. It is particularly important now to do everything so as to achieve a breakthrough in nuclear disarmament by an early agreement between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their European-based medium-range missiles, Mr Mariy Ivanov emphasizes.

Discussing Bulgaria's constructive Balkan policies, Mr Mariy Ivanov says that this policy is focused on the efforts to realize the ideas of nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free Balkans.

He recalls the significance of the Declaration of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Greece. Bulgaria expresses hope that the example for building confidence and security on the Balkan Peninsula, set with this declaration, will be followed elsewhere, too, Mr Mariy Ivanov writes.

Further on, the first deputy foreign minister lists Bulgaria's other initiatives: The suggestion to sign bilateral agreements with all Balkan states, including codes of good-neighbour relations, the proposal that the Balkan countries should draft and sign an ecological protection treaty, and the idea to call an all-European ecological forum with broad international attendance.

/12232

CSO: 2200/86

## DZHUROV ADDRESSES RETIRING OFFICERS IN SOFIA

AU051432 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel Engineer Nikolay Panov: "Worthy Example for Imitation"]

[Text] Each one of them set out on life's path in a different fashion. They were united by the ideals of the party and the antifascist struggle. Later the party again directed them along the difficult, heroic roads of the Fatherland War and in the building up of the young people's army. During the whole of this period the age-old feeling of love for the socialist fatherland warmed their hearts and illuminated their thoughts and actions. With this feeling they marched conscientiously and honorable for decades into difficult battles. They were well aware that patriotism runs like blood in man's body, that life cannot exist without it. Patriotism is born in the mother's cradle song, but does not die at the end of our lives, because it has already infused the minds and hearts of the next generation. And so it remains forever.

The veteran soldiers stand at ease.... Their eyes are moist, but they know how to be steadfast.

Yesterday's ceremony in the Central Club of the People's Army to mark the transfer to the reserves of generals and officers, active fighters against fascism and capitalism, was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense; Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA]; Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Department of the BPA; Lieutenant General Trifon Balkanski, first deputy chief of the Social and National Security Department of the BCP Central Committee; deputy ministers of national defense; and generals and officers.

Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact States with the BPA, was also present.

Lieutenant General Tsanyu Bakalov read out the order of the minister of national defense to promulgate the decree of the State Council awarding the Military Valor and Service Order.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov congratulated the recipients of the award in the name of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the BAP . He stressed the great services rendered by the retiring generals and officers and the active part they had played in the anti-fascist struggle and the building up of the BPA. Interweaving their own youth with that of the army, passing through harsh training and sleepless nights, they made their contribution to raising the army's combat readiness and consolidating its organization.

The complex international situation, the minister of national defense emphasized, requires that they continue to remain at their combat posts in the future and, if necessary, rejoin the army's ranks to defend their native land and the cause of socialism.

In conclusion, voicing his confidence in the readiness of the generals and officers, active fighters against fascism and capitalism, who were being transferred to the reserve to implement the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress in practice, Army General Dobri Dzhurov thanked them in the name of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, and in the name of the leadership of the BPA and the Main Political Administration of the BPA, and wished them good health and long life.

Lieutenant General Dimitur Todorov made a speech of thanks on behalf of the awarded soldiers and assured the BCP Central Committee and the BPA leadership of their readiness to remain soldiers everywhere and in everything and maintain their unbreakable ties with the soldiers of our People's Army.

/12232  
CSO: 2200/86

## SOLUTIONS TO ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS SURVEYED

AU140931 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT (Special the 13th Congress--examples supplement) in Bulgarian 1 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by Todor Bozhinov, chairman of the Committee for Protection of the Environment Under the Council of Ministers: "Science Is Also Seeking Solutions to Ecological Problems"--passages within slantlines in boldface]

[Excerpts] /The 13th BCP Congress set intensification as a basic requirement for developing the country's economy. This permits one to examine and solve the problem of the relationship between the use of nature and its protection at a qualitatively new level and to overcome the two extreme viewpoints that the development of industry inevitably means greater pollution and that ecological requirements only make production more expensive and unprofitable./

The solution must be sought in setting up a /new relationship between the economy and ecology./ With the broad introduction of scientific and technical progress, ecological problems must be turned into technological and scientific-technical ones. Substantial structural changes will be made in our economy.

There are some types of production in which it is impossible to stop pollution, such as in thermoelectric power plants and metallurgical, cement, and other works. There qualitatively new technologies must be applied to treat the water and clean the air. New types of lcoal stations will be built to treat industrial effluents. Modern biotechnologies will be applied in the treatment of domestic sewage that will radcially and qualitatively improve the approach in solving this important problem in Bulgaria. We must cease to build huge treatment stations and kilometers of collecting pipes for them (except in the large towns). This is unjustifiably expensive and inefficient; for example, to treat the sewage from the Borovets complex it was planned to build a 15-km collecting pipeline to convey the sewage to the town treatment plant in Samokov. Using the new technical and technological solutions, every hotel can have its own local treatment station, factory-made, of modular design, and involving practically no building work in its installation. Such treatment stations will enable us to more quickly halt the pollution of the Black Sea coast and to solve the problem of small centers of population with up to 10,000 inhabitants. New technological solutions are also available for cremation and the burning of solid waste from town economies.

Preserving the environment forms part of the party's policy for /raising the people's living standards./ Ever more often we are faced with the problem of how to satisfy man's requirements for an ecologically pure living environment and beautiful nature. Previously this question was rather left on one side, and our attention was given mainly to satisfying people's other material and intellectual needs. Ecological problems are more and more becoming key social problems throughout the whole of man's life cycle--work, living, and recreation.

For small countries like ours, the state of the natural environment is affected both by our own sources of pollution and by pollution transferred across the borders from neighboring and more distant states. This is why it is important for us to build up a national system for observing, gathering information, and monitoring the state of the environment. The experiences of certain European countries who have such systems already set up convinces us of their useful effect. This year we will take delivery of measuring equipment for the 16 regional environmental protection inspectorates, and in 1988 a central control station will also be built. In this way we will be able to continuously receive the necessary information on the ecological situation in the country.

We plan to bring up to date the legislation and normative documents in the field of environmental protection. The existing laws on protecting the environment will be coordinated and brought into conformity.

Ecological ignorance is the worst enemy of Bulgarian nature. Conditions now demand that level of ecological education--both professional and general, should be quickly raised. The education system must become a basic link in obtaining ecological education and enlightenment. The higher education system must train specialist ecologists and to introduce ecology into the training in other special fields.

The ecological problem is a global one. For this reason the movement to preserve nature must involve the efforts of all and must be a truly /nation-wide movement./

/12232  
CSO: 2200/86

## TRIBUTE TO BORIS PASTERNAK

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 13 Mar 87 p 8

[Article by Moscow correspondent Zhana Avishay: "Bridging the Gap of Time; 'Dr Zhivago' to be Published"]

[Text] This was both a "happy and sad" event not only for those directly involved. At its first session, the commission in charge of Boris Pasternak's literary legacy, unanimously and emotionally passed 14 resolutions. The first was carried out very shortly afterwards. On 19 February 1987, the board of the USSR Writers' Union rescinded the 1958 decree by virtue of which Boris Pasternak was expelled from the union.

The novel "Dr Zhivago," which was the reason for this expulsion, was described by Andrey Voznesenskiy, chairman of the commission for Pasternak's literary legacy, as "an example of the age of ignoring openness, when people were forced to condemn a work without having read it. Our people, however, most of whom were born after the revolution and who had won the war, have the right to read anything and to judge anything by themselves. We, who breathe the air of openness, find it hard to believe that most of the responses were in the nature of "I have not read Pasternak's novel but I believe that...." I think that printing this novel will puzzle many people who will ask: "Why was he expelled?"

The commission on Pasternak's literary legacy, which includes noted personalities, such as Academician D. Likhachov, V. Kaverin, V. Bikov, V. Korotich, Ye. Yevtushenko, I. Abashidze and many others, turned to the leadership of the Soviet Writers' Union with the request that both the novel "Dr Zhivago" and the complete collected works of Pasternak's writings be published, that a museum be set up in Peredelkino, in the poet's house, a street and a garden be named after him, and the centennial of his birth be celebrated in 1990.

During the time that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA reported this first session of the commission, I was visiting two of its members: Veniamin Kaverin and Yevgeniy Pasternak.

In his apartment on Pushkinskaya Street, Yevgeniy Pasternak invited me to sit down in a chair behind which I noted an ancient black bookshelf, cracked with age, its shelves bending under the weight of dictionaries and manuals with darkened covers.

"The bookshelf and the books belonged to my father," Yevgeniy Pasternak said. "After his death, when we were expelled from Peredelkino, I took the bookshelf and my relatives took the rest. We know who got what, so that the original items can be put back."

My conversation with the poet's son kept being interrupted. The telephone in the hall would ring, he would get up, listen to congratulations offered by friends and strangers and requests from editors for materials from his father's files.

"What happened to the files?" I asked.

"My father frequently destroyed various drafts of what he wrote, after the works were published. You must remember the poem "To Be Famous Is Not Nice." Nevertheless, his file is quite thick. It contains enough material to trace his life and to see the way he worked. Most of his letters are here. We have spent years collecting them. A few of his letters are in private collections.

"Pasternak frequently wrote that a full edition of his correspondence would amount to eight thick volumes. Quite important, in addition to his letters to Tsvetayeva, Rilke, Mandelshtam and Mayakovskiy, is his correspondence with his parents, sisters, cousin and my mother.

"Our files include the first part of "Dr Zhivago" in all of its drafts. All we have of the second part is the final draft. My father took 10 years to write this novel, between the summers of 1946 and 1956. It was his habit to write first with a pencil and then to recopy his writing in ink. He read his work to his friends, then transcribed it on a typewriter and edited the typewritten draft.

The telephone rang again. The shadow of the poet appeared in the darkened room with its ancient bookshelf.

It was another encounter that intensified my feeling of being close to Pasternak.

Snow was falling on Peredelkino against which the purple house and the green spruce stood out pleasantly. Knocking at the door, it seemed to me that this quiet kingdom of the snow was uninhabited. But the door opened, I felt heat, and a muffled voice came from a room illuminated by paintings of orange flowers, oranges and peaches:

"Sit down and wait for me. I am finishing my last sentence."

I did not wait long. Veniamin Kaverin stood up and slowly came to me, as though coming out of another age. Shriveled, almost emaciated in his outsized clothes, he dropped down on the sofa.

I asked him questions but felt uneasy. His voice would die away and I could hear his fast breathing.

"I will be 85 in April," he told me.

The conversation turned to Pasternak, and my interlocutor came alive.

"I met Pasternak in 1936. I frequently went to see him. I warmly admired his work but found my relationship with him difficult, for I was looking at him as his inferior. He easily walked through time, which was impossible for me. After 15 or 20 minutes of conversation I could no longer understand him. He was like Napoleon at Arcola, conquering fortresses and peaks inaccessible to me. His way of thinking was very complex. I could not keep up with him either in his characters, for he was infinitely better educated than I was, or in the philosophical set of his mind or else his literary art, although he valued my works. I cannot say that he liked me too much but I felt strange hearing his words of approval. He was not locked within the narrow circle of his own literature but stood above it. There is no one I could compare to him. He was close only to Mayakovskiy, but later, they quarreled."

Even before the revolution, various groups had tried to draw him over on their side but no one had succeeded. Such efforts were made by Popov, Ivan Aksyonov and the futurists. Nothing came out of this, for he did not mix with an outside way of life. He had his own.

Here is another example: In 1936 he visited Paris, invited by Parisians. Our authorities would not let either him or Babel go but the French writers insisted that he come.

Erenburg told me about Pasternak's behavior. It was as though all of Paris and France had to accept his way of life. This was reflected in his behavior. He did not wish to talk to people who wanted to talk to him, he refused to address public meetings. After he was talked into it with a great deal of effort, Pasternak said no more than a single sentence. At first he said "Oooh," and sometimes his mannerisms were strange.... The entire hall began to applaud thunderously before he was able to say anything else. All he said after that was "Poetry is at our feet. What can we say about it, when the only thing we can do is lift it up. We must see it, lift it up and describe it."

Pasternak was unaware of his exclusivity. He was modest. In Peredelkino he was known and loved by everyone in the neighboring kolkhoz. He treated its people as equals.

Pasternak was unaware of the value of money. He would unexpectedly give big and expensive parties for his friends. His visitor included the noted pianist Neygauz, the philosopher Asmus, Boris Livanov, actor at the MKhAT, and writer Vsevolod Ivanov.

I witnessed his forced refusal of the Nobel Prize. He was a courageous, dignified and bold person.

I met him twice after the story with "Dr Zhivago." I did not notice his being depressed.

I do not know how he reacted to everything that happened to him but the fact remains that soon after that he died.

When you came to see me you caught me completing my recollections of his funeral....

Outside the snow continued to fall.

5003

CSO: 2200/78

HUSAK, STROUGAL CABLE HUNGARIAN LEADERSHIP

LD032352 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] Gustav Husak and Lubomir Strougal, the highest Czechoslovak representatives, have sent a congratulatory telegram to Janos Kadar, general secretary of the HSWP, Pal Losonczi, Chairman of the Presidential Council, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on their country's national holiday, the 42d anniversary of the liberation of Hungary by the Soviet Army. The telegram stresses that during the period of socialist construction the Hungarian people have achieved significant progress in all areas of social life under the leadership of their revolutionary party. We in Czechoslovakia follow with interest and sympathy the endeavor of the Hungarian working people in fulfilling the program of building socialist society and we are gladdened by every success achieved in the implementation of the resolutions set out by the 13th HSWP Congress.

The telegram goes on to recall the all-round traditional cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, presently being enriched by new forms and methods evolved in the tackling of demanding tasks that our countries are facing in the process of intensifying social and economic development. In this respect, the consistent realization of the long-term program for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Hungary up to the year 2000 plays an exceptionally important role. We sincerely value the fraternal friendship and cooperation between our communist parties, states, and nations founded on the principles of Marxism Leninism and socialist internationalism. We are convinced that the dynamic development of our mutual relations, coupled with the growing cooperation between the socialist states within the Warsaw Pact and within CEMA contribute to the further strengthening of unity and cohesion among the entire community, to the strengthening of the common struggle for the cause of socialism, and peace and progress in the world.

We appreciate the foreign peace policy pursued by the Hungarian People's Republic, which is an important contribution in the collective endeavor of the socialist states to avert the threat of a nuclear war, to bring about disarmament, and to safeguard international security.

/9274  
CSO: 2400/221

## DEFENSE MINISTER ATTENDS AKTIV ON MILITARY DISCIPLINE

AU131104 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 87 p 2

[CTK report: "Strengthening Military Discipline"]

[Text] Prague, (CTK)--An aktiv meeting of communists-leading functionaries of the Czechoslovak People's Army was held in Prague on Thursday [2 April]; the topic was the strengthening of military discipline. At the meeting Colonel-General Jaroslav Kliche, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, stressed that the effort to achieve high and conscious discipline in the army is the essential condition for improving combat and mobilization readiness. It is the prerequisite for giving professional soldiers, and also conscripts, the feeling that army service provides the satisfaction of a job well done. He recalled that the standards of discipline reflect the quality of guidance work, ideological training, the organization of training, the troops' material conditions and the way they are comprehensively provided for.

Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, said in his statement that the effort to strengthen discipline and raise moral-political standards is in fact a struggle for the people's way of thinking and for changing it. He said that conscious discipline must be based on an understanding of the importance of defending our fatherland and the countries of the socialist community under the conditions of the current complicated international and military-political situation. That is why the good and offensive ideological-educational work of communists in the CPCZ's basic organizations is so important.

The meeting was attended by Vladimir Blechta, CPCZ Central Committee department head. Colonel-General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces attached to the CSSR minister of national defense, was also present.

/9274

CSO: 2400/221

## CPSL CC RESOLUTION DISCUSSED

AU040700 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[*"Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Resolution" adopted at the 31 March session in Bratislava*]

[Text] At its session on 30-31 March 1987, the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) discussed the CPSL Central Committee Presidium's report on the fulfillment of the 17th CPCZ Congress resolution and the CPSL Congress revolution on accelerating scientific-technical development under the conditions existing in the Slovak SR and on other tasks in the spirit of the results reached in the deliberations of the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee Session, presented by Comrade Miloslav Hruskovic, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CPSL Central Committee secretary. It acquainted itself, and expressed full agreement with the course taken by the CPCZ Central Committee in realizing the 17th CPCZ Congress resolution and in accomplishing the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, as well as with the tasks aimed at ensuring the program of restructuring the economic mechanism and the resolution adopted by the conference of top representatives of fraternal parties of the CEMA member countries.

It endorses the CPCZ Central Committee's stand, which appreciated the revolutionary contribution of the January CPSU Central Committee session. In this context it professes allegiance with and full support for the measures adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee on making use of the session's incentives in elaborating and realizing the 17th CPCZ Congress resolution.

It expects the party, state, economic, and social organizations and their agencies to develop initiative in beginning to utilize and creatively implement under our own conditions, the experience acquired in restructuring the Soviet society. This struggle must be headed by party agencies and organizations and by communists from central agencies down to individual working collectives. The acquired knowledge is to be fully utilized in elaborating and realizing the results of the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee Session.

## I.

After discussing the documents submitted to it, the CPSL Central Committee declares that the development to date has fully affirmed that the resolutions adopted on the acceleration of economic and social development, on a speedier

development of science and technology, and on putting their results in practice, were both correct and justified. Nevertheless, despite certain positive results, there has been no radical change in their implementation in the Slovak SR, which would have become a guarantee of the intensive development of national economy and of the ensured qualitatively higher level of the production process. The results of the first years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan show, even from the beginning of this year, that the set goals have not been achieved in a number of branches, above all in quality indexes, in the growth of the adjusted net output, in profits, in the planned profitability, and in the decrease of production's demands on energy and materials.

The dynamics of innovations, and of the improvement of quality of goods and of their technical-economic standards continue to be low. The results are accompanied by an irregular task accomplishment and by the insufficient satisfaction of the demanded structure and range of products for the domestic and foreign markets.

We have not succeeded in ensuring the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in all sectors. Our economic executive staff often makes the plan fulfillment dependent on considerable investment, manpower, foreign currency demands, and other demands on resources.

At the same time the existing facilities are still not being properly utilized; obsolete machinery and equipment is not being eliminated. Demands to begin new construction projects continue to be high, although the provisions in terms of blue-prints and suppliers for these projects are inadequate. The construction times are getting longer, and calculated costs are growing. For the most part, the technical-economic standards of new facilities, and of those that are being built or only prepared, are lagging behind the world trend. The modernization of the production-technical base is still not being used as the decisive form of investment.

The contribution from the development of science and technology is unsatisfactory. We are not succeeding in cutting down the time necessary to complete research tasks and, above all, in putting their results into practice.

Scientific-technical progress has not yet become an organic part of economic development. Managers still have not found the requisite active approach to this urgent task, an approach that would be commensurate with current needs. That is why the CPSL Central Committee demands the enforcement in practice of solutions that are forward-looking, conducive to conceptual, creative, and specific approaches, and which create conditions for entrepreneurship.

## II.

To secure the challenging tasks of the 17th CPCZ Congress, the CPSL Congress, and the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee Session it is necessary to speed up the process of structural rebuilding in favor of a priority development of the manufacturing industry, particularly engineering, electrical engineering, low-tonnage chemistry, biotechnology, and other progressive branches, as well as branches making use of domestic resources of raw materials. Production

programs and intensive production technologies must be promoted whose standard is comparable with the current findings of scientific-technical development in the world. The center of gravity must be increasingly moved toward increasing the share of automation and gradually introducing flexible manufacturing systems and computerized technological complexes. The CPSL Central Committee emphasizes the need for a consistent fulfillment of tasks in the development of the component base of electrical engineering and high-performance computer technology. This is made all the more urgent by the fact that the set tasks in these areas have not been fulfilled in recent years.

The problems of making high-density integrated circuits and fast silicon-based and gallium arsenide-based integrated circuits must be tackled more vigorously. It is necessary to become conversant with the demanding physical and chemical technological processes involved, starting with electron and roentgen lithography, up to the processes of acquiring high-purity chemical compounds and materials.

In the chemical industry, it is necessary to carry out in due course quality investments in intensive crude oil refining and to more emphatically assert sophisticated chemistry, particularly specialty chemicals, and the development of biotechnology-based productions in the fields of medicine, pharmaceuticals, and the agriculture-food industry complex.

In the branches of the consumer goods industry, modernization must be asserted more rapidly, in view of the fact that the approved modernization programs are seriously behind schedule.

To secure a dynamic development of our country's economic potential and to meet society's growing needs, it is necessary to achieve a far broader integration in the international socialist division of labor, in the solution and utilization of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member-Countries Through the Year 2000 and the bilateral programs of long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation. We must also accelerate the negotiation and conclusion of agreements on direct ties, cooperation in manufacturing, and the construction of joint associations and enterprises, notably with the USSR. The CPSL Central Committee demands that communists in ministries, economic production units, enterprises, and research organizations regard such an approach as a systemic point of departure in shaping an effective structure of industry.

Attention must be focused on balanced structural changes in the scientific-technical potential in favor of the most advanced branches and sectors. This will require steps to be taken toward more fundamental changes in the concentration of the scientific-research base on priority directions and toward changing its profile, as well as a deeper linkage between basic research, applied research, and development.

All efforts must be aimed at raising the technical-economic standards of applied research projects and cutting the time needed for individual solutions. The equipment of the research-development base with apparatus technology and modern devices must be improved, central laboratories built, and the quality

of information systems improved. The research and development base for experimentation, testing, and application must be developed more actively, and the most advanced forms of linkage between science and production promoted more courageously.

By means of modern technological devices, such as computer-aided design systems, better conditions must be established for the staff of the preproduction stages, for the work of designers and technologists. Their material interest in final results and in the contribution of their solutions must be enhanced.

We must act more resolutely to enforce management principles based on economic accountability also in the organizations of the research-development base and in design organizations. The building of rationalization workshops in production organizations must proceed on a broader scale.

In capital investment, which is the main instrument of implementing the findings of science and technology, we must consistently observe the targets of the Eighth 5-Year Plan with respect to increasing the proportion of modernization and retooling projects while at the same time security the development programs in the priority sectors.

The position of the investor must be markedly reinforced, the activity of design organizations improved, and the work of experts in assessing investment projects intensified.

Greater emphasis must be placed on securing the implementation of ecology-related projects and improving the living and general environment.

The CPSL Central Committee demands of the pertinent organizations that they secure in good quality and on schedule the fulfillment of the concrete tasks that arise from the schedule of working out a comprehensive document on restructuring the economic mechanism. Ministries and organizations in the Slovak SR are called upon to be far more active and bolder in approaching the introduction of the comprehensive experiment.

### III.

The stage that we are about to enter requires that all party agencies and organizations and all communists intensify their activity. No time must be lost in establishing a demanding social climate conducive to creativity, a climate that would more effectively stimulate the activity of work collectives and individuals. Political-organizational, ideoeducational, and mass political work must be further promoted in the spirit of the deliberations of annual meetings of members.

The party's influence must be enhanced, in particular, in the sectors that have a crucial impact on the course of the strategy of acceleration. The wider application of the results of scientific-technical development in the spirit of restructuring must be the task of party agencies and organizations and all communists. This requires a vigorous struggle against old forms and notions and against stereotypes in thinking and conduct, which are mostly connected

with the previous extensive method of development. The creative activity and initiative of the broad masses of the working people must be further unfolded and improved; and specific and effective support must be rendered to inventors and improvers in tackling problems and applying their results in practical life. Socialist competition and a movement of pledges must be unfolded in honor of the 70th anniversary of Great October and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Union of Cooperative Farmers, the Socialist Youth Union, the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society, and other social organizations must be involved more fully in this process. The Initiative of the Central Trade Union Council and the Prague Appeal must also find a greater response among organizations in the Slovak SR.

The CPSL Central Committee demands of party agencies and organizations and of communists in the government, central agencies, economic production units and enterprises, plants, institutes, and other organizations that they reexamine cadre work in a principled way. Cadres must be evaluated not only according to past merits, but on the basis of their actual results and their ability to master the challenging tasks under the conditions of restructuring. Competent, energetic, and talented organizers must be pushed through to positions of responsibility. We must also be bolder in promoting young talented cadres as well as politically and professionally prepared nonparty members. A more effective struggle needs to be waged against violations of socialist legality, ethics, and discipline.

At atmosphere of great exactingness must be established everywhere for all the tasks of this year's plan and of the entire 5-year plan to be consistently fulfilled.

For this to happen, it is necessary to make use also of the itemization of the resolutions of the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee Session and the CPSL Central Committee session and thereby contribute to the further advancement of socialism not only in our country, but also to its reinforcement on the international scale. Therein will also lie our contribution to easing international tension and to enhancing the peace efforts of the socialist community and the peace movement in the world.

The CPSL Central Committee approves:

1. The Report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium on Implementing the Resolution of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress on Speeding Up Scientific-Technical Development Under the Conditions of the Slovak SR and Further Tasks in the Spirit of the Results of the Fifth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee.
2. The Report on the Activity of the Presidium, Secretariat, and Commissions of the CPSL Central Committee Since the CPSL Central Committee Session of 10 December 1986.

The CPSL Central Committee takes note of:

1. The written Report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium on Implementing the Resolution of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress

on Speeding Up Scientific-Technical Development Under the Conditions of the Slovak SR and Further Tasks in the Spirit of the Results of the Fifth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

2. An information on the development and qualitative improvement of the members' base of the party in Slovakia in 1986,

3. The assessment of the preparation, course, and results of the annual meetings of members of CPSL primary organizations in 1987.

4. The political and organizational provisions for the tasks arising from the Fifth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSL Central Committee Session in Implementing the Resolution of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress on speeding up scientific-technical development under the conditions of the Slovak SR.

5. Provisions for the program of working out a Comprehensive Document on Restructuring the Economic Mechanism of the CSSR by the central agencies of the Slovak SR,

/9274

CSO: 2400/221

## ZAVADIL SPEECH TO CSSR TU CONGRESS

LD141133 Prague Television Service in Czech 0824 GMT 14 Apr 87

[Speech by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, at the 11th All-Trade Union Congress in Prague; no video available—live]

[Text] Comradesdelegates, esteemed guests:

Five years have passed since the last congress. The Central Council of Trade Unions submits to you, the delegates of the 11th All-Trade Union Congress a report on the work accomplished and proposals for the direction of our activity in the period ahead.

We have gathered for discussions at our congress full of profound impressions and impulses which Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's visit has left behind. We welcomed the representative of the party and country, which loyal to Lenin's legacy and its truth, is realizing with courage and historic optimism a remarkable and exemplary process of restructuring; is freeing and giving every scope for popular creative forces.

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's visit was an important event in the life of our nations and confirmed the sincere attitude of the CSSR people toward the USSR. Its results will form the basis for the further dynamic development of our all round cooperation. As Comrade Gustav Husak stressed, and I quote, we shall do our utmost to make use of all new possibilities which they are opening before us in cooperation in the development of socialism to the benefit and in the interest of the common cause of peace and progress.

We, members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, also support unequivocally the CPSU's innovative line. The example by the country of our closest friends also encourages us—the CSSR trade unionists. It calls for us to be fearless and determined in realizing the program set by the 17th CPCZ Congress. It calls for new approaches and thinking. It calls on us to study carefully the conclusions of the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress, and to develop ever more closely and enrich our mutual cooperation. We send sincere comradely greetings from our congress to comrade Gorbachev, communists and trade unionists, and to all Soviet people. We wish all of them many future successes in fulfilling the challenging aims of developing the USSR.

The years which divide us from the last congress were, despite all the difficulties, a successful period. In social and economic development the aims set by the 16th CPCZ Congress for the Seventh 5-Year Plan were achieved. Both industrial and agricultural production grew and national income--the principle source of meeting growing private and social consumption--also increased, although less than envisaged. Not a small segment of social resources were devoted to the health service, education, culture, and to further reinforcing the social guarantee for working people. The international position of socialist czechoslovakia was strengthened and the country's prestige in the world increased.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, also made a significant contribution to the successful development of our society. Its position as the organization of the working class and all working people was strengthened further. For the fact that the overall balance sheet of the past 5 years is positive and successful we sincerely thank all members and officials of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, who made a distinguished contribution by their selfless work to it.

Despite this we are not satisfied with the standard of trade union work. We know what the problems and shortcomings are. We are conscious of the fact that in order to realize the party's policy and meet working people's needs we could have done, and in the future we are dutybound, to do even more.

Comrades, the 17th CPCZ Congress set before the whole of our society the strategic task to speed up social and economic development, which is a prime necessity for our further advancement and constitutes a revolutionary step of historic significance. These complicated and demanding tasks require a great deal of effort and energy. Their realization is in the present-day as well as in long-term vital interest of the working class and all working people. At issue is not only restructuring the social and economic sectors but literally the (?entire) life of our society. Socialism must demonstrate with much greater effectiveness its capabilities and people must live better and better. This is the purpose and aim of restructuring. Its character and depth is succinctly expressed in the principle: more socialism, more democracy--the principle of our Soviet friends which applies fully in our country too.

We assure the CPCZ Central Committee that the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement will be up to its social role, and will continue to concentrate all its might and abilities on the implementation of the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

We assure you, dear comrades, that the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement will play a dignified role in the process of restructuring. In this we see the essence of the revolutionary spirit of trade unions of our time. These are pressing and urgent tasks. They also give a new, more exacting content to the double, yet unified role of socialist trade unions: coupled with paying attention to the growth of production, its efficiency and high quality, it must care continuously for an improvement in labor conditions, satisfying the ends and interests of working people.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement achieved many successes in implementing its role. But what a potential force is still hidden in the abilities and gifts of the millions of our members. We have to mobilize this force in the interest of the aims of restructuring. We must stimulate creative initiative more thoughtfully among our members. By meeting their needs better we must increase the interests of working man in his conscious contribution to safeguarding social and economic growth. We must see to it that the principle of "we will live according to the way we carry out our work, has applied really everywhere and to each of us. We will not advance at all if we are not able to make use in this connection of all possibilities and (?rights). We would in this way fail to fulfill the promise which we have given to the party, and would not fulfill the role of the largest organization of working people which has such a significant share of responsibility for the implementation of the idea that the people are the moving force behind changes. This is a pressing and inexorable situation and it must be understood in this light.

The activity of working collectives following the 17th Party Congress, which also affected the preparation of our congress, supported the key interest of the working class and of other working people. [passage indistinct]

We want to contribute to the successful restructuring of the economic mechanism which will enable the full democratic participation of the working people in the management of production, a substantial expansion of the scope for the application of creative initiative, and a growth in the collective's responsibility for the results of work. We are determined--and it is our duty--to wage a firm struggle against everything that slows down and keeps back our advancement: egalitarianism, lack of discipline, red tapism and formalism. We are determined not to permit a gap between words and deeds. This is in the interest of our cause, of the party program, and of the role of the unions. We must continuously keep in mind that the success of a trade union organization's work depends on the activity of its primary organizations and on the interest of all its members. The words of Lenin to trade union officials carry a pressing order, I quote: To live directly among workers, to know their life thoroughly, to be able to win the boundless trust of the masses by a comradely attitude to them and by carefully meeting their needs, end of quote.

What will our answer to the Leninist appeal be, comrades? The members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement expect and rightly demand that the chief officials, including those from the Central Council of Trade Unions, take an active part in the life of primary organizations, know the views of the people, and keep in touch with them at all times. We are convinced that the Revolutionary Trade Movement has the prerequisites to cope with its task well. What matters is to make use of the creative potential of the working class, of its feeling for everything new and revolutionary, of its discipline, and of its deep sense of social justice.

We must provide even greater incentives to the socialist intelligentsia to raise the performance of the CSSR economy and to contribute toward strengthening the bond between the working class and cooperative farmers. We must meet better the interests and needs of our members according to their social

position, age, and professional position and above all of our women and young people. The development of socialist democracy and working people's activity at the same time broadens the possibilities for trade unions to have a wider influence in the National Front and for a closer cooperation with its member organizations. It is desirable for trade union officials, who are also deputies, to make better use of the right to initiate laws so that we cooperate more effectively with the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils. It is equally in the interests of working people to deepen further our cooperation with the national committees, especially in fulfilling the National Front election programs.

Our relations, with the organs of the socialist state have an important role to play here. Joint consultations between the organs of the CSSR government and the Central Council of Trade Unions tackled a number of important issues of both the social and economic development since the 10th All-Trade Union Congress. The practice of joint consultations with both the state and economic bodies has been expanded from the center downward to plants. These joint consultations have already borne fruit. However, it is possible as well as desirable to deepen this cooperation. In this area, too, we have to show greater initiative and defend and promote the legitimate interests of working people and increase our influence and share in the development of the national economy.

Comrades, the tasks we are setting before ourselves in trade union work befit the revolutionary traditions of our united trade union movement. They express respect for the great work generations of trade unionists accomplished before us. We are conscious that the achievement of new aims requires us to return not only to reliably tested past experience but to be equally fearless in thinking out challenging, untested processes which correspond to the social role played by trade unions in new conditions. We shall at the same time be mindful of the enduring values and principles conditioning the revolutionary mission of socialist trade unions. Having learned from the experiences of the crisis period we shall guard the unity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and its firm bond with the leading force in our society--the CPCZ.

We welcome and greet among us some of those who fought for trade union (?unity), who were at the birth of our organization and built the foundations of socialism. We wish you dear comrades good health, happiness, and many years of your life.

Comrades, our society has set itself demanding tasks in the Eighth 5-Year Plan and also in the outlook to the year 2000 in economic and social advancement. These can only be fulfilled by a consistent intensification and a substantial increase in efficiency and national economic output. The process of acceleration, with which the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is also identified, is still not moving forward with desirable speed. The fourth and fifth session of the CPCZ Central Committee pointed this fact out in its full urgency. All our primary organization, all of us, must ask the question: Have we done all to fulfill the economic plan? The answer must be the object of our daily attention because the development of working initiative, in the interest of plan fulfillment, is one of the most important tasks of trade unions.

We appreciate and value the selfless honest work of many brigades of socialist labor and other work collectives. As an example, we can quote the brigade of socialist labour led by Comrade (?Jiri Supdovak) from the (?Construction Assembly Work) in Teplice and a collective of Frantisek (?Uhr) from the Slovak Magnesit Works in Lubenik. On the other hand we cannot fail to see that the achieved results in the advancement of the working initiative are not in keeping with needs, and often with our effort. Working people often have to substitute by our work shortcomings in planning, management, and organization and has been often and justly criticized.

We must also note that there is a lot of formalism and red-tape in socialist competition. The initiative of the working people is not sufficiently directed toward achieving maximum production efficiency. In a number of enterprises real competitive spirit has completely disappeared. Formal pledges are still made on quite a large scale. It can even be said that the results of some brigades of socialist labor are not different from other average or subaverage collectives. It is a pressing need of our time to change this state of affairs. This calls for basing these forms of initiative by the working people on the aims of the initiative of the Central Council of Trade Unions which are directed toward a major saving in material expenses, improving labor productivity and the quality of production. This movement is not advancing easily. It is, however, fully justified as it has palpable, checkable results. Therefore, there is no doubt that this form of orientation is the right one.

Compared with the advanced countries our material and power costs per unit of production is disproportionately high. The findings of the state control bodies that 32 percent of products are of an insufficient technical standard and that 25 percent are finished poorly are alarming. Half of these problems is a result of a lack of working and technological discipline. Trade union organizations, workers, technicians, and management must be interested in why some people work well and always have good results, while others work uneconomically, deceive the production process and fail to fulfill the plan. It is necessary to discuss these questions and draw appropriate conclusions. Therefore, we emphasize so much the need to spread the initiative of the Central Council of Trade Unions to all enterprises and collectives, and to the brigades of socialist labor as the main yardstick for granting and maintaining their title. It is necessary to increase the prestige of working brigade collectives through the authority of trade union organizations, and to organize exchanges of experience on innovative working methods.

We are convinced that all working collectives will contribute with specific deeds in honoring the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 40th anniversary of Victorious February, for the successful implementation of the 1987 plan and the other tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The working collectives of the United Steel Works national enterprise in Kladno, the Heavy Engineering Works in Martin, and the Trinec Iron Works serve as an example.

Comrades! In the report delivered at the 17th Party Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak stressed that the mechanism of management and planning must be subordinated to the long-range strategy for the intensification of the national economy

based on scientific and technological progress. The specific path to the achievement of this congress directive is expressed in the principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The proposed raising of the independence and accountability of working collectives of plants and enterprises and giving them incentives to achieve the best results has placed new tasks before trade unions. The Central Council of Trade Unions is sharing actively in the elaboration of the principles of restructuring. At present it is not possible to give an answer to specific questions concerning the activity of trade unions in the new conditions. It is however apparent that with the enterprises about to be given greater independence, this will inevitably entail increasing the rights and accountability of the management and of the whole collective of the working people. This will fundamentally influence the position and specific activity of the trade union organization.

We attach special significance to the preparation of the law on state enterprise which we are helping to draft. It is a known fact that the law should be drafted by the middle of the current year, to be then submitted for debate. In keeping with the interests of working people we believe that the law should embody the duty of the enterprises to ensure better interdependent economic and social development in the organization and its working collective.

We think that keeping the measure of accountability in accord with the extent of the rights of the working collective is no less important. We have in mind, for instance, greater powers in the decision making about the use of enterprise assets [fond]. The law ought also to determine the status of the trade union organization within the enterprise, including its relationship with the management or as the case may be with the organ of socialist self-management.

It is equally important for us to succeed in making full use of existing experience in applying these forms of our socialist democracy which make the direct participation of working people in production management possible. These are above all production meetings, plans for personnel and social development, and collective agreements. In order to increase the effectiveness of collective agreements it is desirable to expand further working people's participation in drafting them and in supervising their implementation and to take care to ensure that they express best both the economic and social interests of the working collective. We expect that in the new conditions their effectiveness as well as the responsibility of the other partner in them for their preparation, implementation, and constant supervision will be increased.

People justly expect faster economic and social advancement in our society for the restructuring of the economic mechanism. One must not however allow illusions to flourish that the mechanism itself is omnipotent. New values are always only the fruit of honest and selfless work. Therefore, we must not lose sight of the preparation and fulfillment of the plan and the corresponding attitude of each primary organization and higher trade union bodies. A number of methods and forms exist for this purpose. As a result of a less sensitive and responsible attitude by some economic and trade union bodies to

dealing with observations made by working people, the effectiveness of production meetings have declined. There are fewer standpoints voiced by trade unions regarding the draft economic plan and there are instances in which discussions of the plan involving working people have been dropped.

In these conditions, however, we cannot talk about the application of target planning. It is also unacceptable that trade union functionaries keep quiet or even approve the attempt of some economic workers to achieve a softening of the plan--as if this was in the interest of working people.

Comrades! For the fulfillment of the main directions of the economic and social development it is necessary, as the fifth CPCZ Central Committee session stressed, that scientific-technical development becomes the main instrument of intensification. This is in the very interest of the working class and of all working people. Scientific-technical development contributes to the necessary growth of social labor productivity, to the better creation of resources, to strengthening the economic base of socialism; at the same time it removes the hard work, it leads to an improvement of working conditions and to an improvement in working conditions on the whole. Despite some positive results, above all, of the innovators and improvers movement, the activity of trade unions does not reach the necessary standard in this sphere. One of the decisive paths toward an improvement in the present situation calls for an improvement in the work of trade unions with the scientific-technical intelligentsia in research at high schools and in production units. This means, above all, better coordination of initiatives between the scientific-research base, production spheres, and production lines. In order to achieve this it is necessary to broaden and make better use of socialist pledges and to create an atmosphere and conditions which will enable the results of the work of scientists, technicians and working teams to be implemented faster. The essence of the Prague appeal, which we support fully and which we will broaden all the time is also to be found here.

The movement of rationalization brigades opens a new field; despite the fact that they are not appreciated fully, they show by their many results their unquestionable influence on production efficiency. We have to pay much more attention to their development. We praise highly the activity of innovators and improvers--they are in the first ranks of pioneers of technical progress, and traditionally bring considerable value to the society. Trade union bodies, however, in cooperation with the Scientific-Technical Society and with the Socialist Union of Youth, have to assert more consistently the perfection of planning by individual topics, more efficient consultative and technical aid, and to care for the specialized growth of innovators, above all from the ranks of workers and young workers. Another topical question is the simplification of regulations which sometime drown innovators in fruitless administrative work. Trade union organizations have to encourage more exchanges of experiences and insist consistently on just material and moral appreciation.

New possibilities as well as more challenging tasks for trade union organs proceed from the implementation of the comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress of DEMA countries up to the year 2000. In our trade union organization, we will assist the establishments and deepening of mutual

cooperation of Czechoslovak and Soviet scientific-research establishment, the faster development of direct production relations, the creation of joint organizations in the sphere of science and technology.

Comrades! The development of our economy is unthinkable without the consistent implementation of socialist principles of remuneration. Experiences so far show that the efficiency of the wage policy does not correspond in many organizations to the original aims. There is, above all, a lack of boldness in the differentiated attitude toward bonuses, the appreciation of long-term high productivity, initiative and high quality of work. Creative engineers and technicians are not fully appreciated. The longstanding equal-to-all attitude towards remuneration weakens the people's initiative, leads to a reduction in productivity and to average results at work.

Changing this state of affairs demands creating in every workplace an atmosphere in which work of good quality and efficiency is materially and morally well rewarded. This means supporting the effort of those managers who will work in this spirit; I have in mind the support of our trade union organization. It is also necessary to make an open stand against everything that slows down and hinders this effort. This is also something that trade union associations in particular must do. To say it briefly, it is not enough to have the best possible financial reward provisions, if there is a lack of courage and of consistent battle against egalitarianism.

The Central Council of Trade Unions will strive in the coming period for the desirable way of development of the relation of wages between industrial sectors: After the creation of resources and after special wage needs were settled, those sectors were tackled in which the dynamism of the wage development is lagging behind, and which does not correspond to national economic needs. At the same time, we also have to demand that the amendment in financial reward is consistently accompanied by an increase in output in the given industrial sector. We will also devote attention to the development of real and nominal wages and will work towards a state of affairs in which wage provisions will create--and this from the Eighth 5-Year Plan--continuously greater space for the increase of authority and responsibility of the enterprise sphere with regard to the incentive part of wages.

Experience unequivocally shows that with the improvement of wage reward practices and with an increase in differentiation of wages, the brigade form of organization and reward has been shown to be efficient. Its application demands good organization, justified output norms, exact setting of tasks, good material and equipment supply, material involvement in the fulfillment of tasks, and responsibility for nonfulfillment of tasks, and the option to make decisions about independent rewards to brigade members. The responsible application of the brigade form is definitely reflected in economic results. What is incomprehensible is that despite the experience of its usefulness, this form is not advancing satisfactorily. Economic and trade union bodies, although they recognize the importance of this progressive form, usually do not go beyond words. They show the same laid-back attitude to the introduction of economic accountability, the basic condition for the application of the brigade form. We must realize that under new conditions, the attitude to

material involvement will change considerably. It will be based, unequivocally and immediately, on resources in relation not only to the amount produced but also products sold.

Comrades, economic intensification brings on to the day's agenda ever more emphatically the task of becoming more effective with regard to manpower. On the one hand, there are requirements for a new force despite all measures, and on the other hand, there is still a great loss of working time. In some spheres there is a high overtime ratio. High risk and low productivity work is eliminated only slowly. Obsolete workplaces are also slowly being modernized and the reduction in the proportion of physically taxing work should be faster. It is, however, not enough only to point this out. It is necessary to help seek ways of rectifying this situation. We cannot be satisfied with the way in which qualifications of technical-economic staff and workers are used. A great number of young people complete apprenticeship plans, yet the number of qualified workers of various skills is not growing and is around 61 percent. It will also not be possible to overlook the justified complaints about the insufficient professional preparation of young workers for coping with their chosen profession.

The Ministry of Education and relevant bodies have to deal with this issue seriously and, above all, resolve the present unsatisfactory situation. In the forthcoming period we shall continue to develop and deepen the economic function of trade unions with the aim of participating actively in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. There is only one aim--to contribute to the higher creation of resources, to the growth of the national income as a condition for a further increase in the standard of living of the population.

Comrades! The care for the working people which embraces all that which facilitates and improves their working and living conditions, which contributes to satisfaction, to intellectual development, and to the healthy self-esteem in the society, has been and will remain the main axis and aim of the social policy of trade unions. We know that an increase in the standard of living will always depend fully on the resources and values which we will create by our joint work. In the past years, despite the more difficult external and internal conditions and certain fluctuations, the dynamics of economic growth have been preserved and the achieved social certainties have been ensured.

As a result of the coparticipation of the Central Council of Trade Unions, which uses its right to submit proposals to solve questions connected with the growth in the standard of living, the past 5 years the incomes of the population have increased, payments from social security have increased by 5.1 billion kcs, child benefits have increased by more than 23 percent, and the maternity grant and family benefits have also increased. A valuable step toward a further improvement in the material conditions of young families with children, pensioners, and other groups of the population was made by the measures of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, by the government, by the presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions and by the [word indistinct] Central Committee to implement the conclusions of the 17th Party Congress concerning social security which were adopted last week.

The activity of trade union organs and organizations in the sphere of care for working people is broad indeed. In enterprise social policy this embraces, for example, reducing industrial injuries which still remain high, improving catering in enterprises--which is used by some 50 percent of working people, and increasing capacities and possibilities of recreation for workers and children. For this a purposeful utilization of cultural and social funds is being made. We have to admit self-critically that trade union organs and organizations have not been exerting the necessary pressure to remove long-term shortcomings. For example, in many places of work there is far too much overtime work. Working and living conditions of women are not being resolved satisfactorily; the adopted plans of social development are not being fulfilled. Some economic bodies do not even react to these and other comments made by trade unions. And it is known that the intensification of the national economy is not possible without a considerable perfection of working conditions and an improvement in labor conditions. It is the care taken for people which is the condition for the level of satisfaction in the production process because it influences their initiative and productivity and the quality of production.

A caring attitude by the economic management of trade union organizations toward the needs of working people in the production process is demonstrated most clearly in the standard of care for safety and hygiene at work. Unfortunately, many enterprises still exist where the basic safety and hygiene norms are violated. Reconstruction of workshops and production halls is being postponed despite the fact that improvements are being promised to the people year after year. Enterprise committees and other trade union organs criticize these shortcomings but their pressure on economic workers is, however, often only symbolic and the result is zero. Checks on work safety are not always carried out consistently.

There have been chairmen of the revolutionary trade union movement's factory committees who have not taken part in such checks, not even as frequently as their counterparts in management. Annual public checks of work safety are often dealt with in a literally formalistic way. Checks to find out whether the defects ascertained have been eliminated are equally lax. This, comrades, is an alarming and inadmissible state of affairs. The responsibility lies above all with the central committees of the individual trade unions, which have the right as well as the duty to carry out public [spolecenska] checks. Union bodies must place greater demands on their work safety inspectors, and there is not a small number of them; there is also the great body of our people involved in this area.

A number of individual trade unions think that it is a time to assess the effectiveness of the extra insurance charge levied and the effectiveness of other penalties if the enterprise fails to discharge its duties in regard to hygiene and work safety. We regard it as immoral that some enterprises put aside funds for the future payment of penalties. It would be correct, however, to penalize those who hold responsibility for violating the relevant laws and regulations.

Due to the joint efforts of the trade union and state bodies a certain improvement has been achieved in the manufacture and supply of basic individual

protective labor devices to enterprises. We are, however, still far from being satisfied. There is a continual shortage of special devices for miners, metallurgical, chemical, and food processing workers, and for some other occupations. The quality of these devices has not substantially improved either. They are lagging in terms of their modernization. On the other hand, the revolutionary trade union movement's factory committees should be more forceful in ensuring that what is at their disposal is not wasted. [Passage indistinct] the North Bohemian Region, the Skolovo and Ostrava areas and in the vicinity of Převidza. Neither moral nor material rewards accorded to factory doctors correspond to the social importance of their work. Frequently there exist problems in the quality of health care in plants, above all in preventive treatment. Regional and district trade union councils, along with Trade Union of Health Service Employees, must apply a more forceful attitude to improve the quality of the care for the sick, cut delivery times, cut down unnecessary red-tape in the work of the health workers, and other negative phenomena including the violation of ethical principles.

The effort by both individual trade union bodies and the all-trade union ones to expand catering facilities in plants has brought good results. Despite this, problems persist in many workplaces in regard to the provision of hot meals on afternoon and night shifts. It is necessary to push faster for the modernization of plant kitchens. We still encounter frequently thoughtless cuts in funds for building and equipping plant canteens in newly started capital investment projects and in the cases involving more extensive modernization of plants. We expect that the individual trade unions and plan committees will not thoughtlessly lose sight of such issues.

All-trade union bodies, and above all district trade union councils, must take a greater care to ensure that sectoral plans are dovetailed with territorial needs in order to ensure that the existing capacities in the public catering network are used more fully for the purpose of plant catering.

The Central Council of Trade Unions considers solving the housing problem a serious question in caring for working people. This is why it has supported the housing policy concept for the Eighth 5-Year Plan, and at the same time, it recommended weighing the broadening of housing construction and modernization of the housing stock according to economic development. We believe that it is necessary, in this direction, to look for new, suitable forms of participation for our citizens and enterprises. Enterprise committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement must use their authority better and assert the priority allocation of housing of young workers' families and families with more children.

A serious problem is the fact that in a number of organizations--above all in the consumer goods and food processing industries and trade--women prevail and the plan is being fulfilled there at the cost of a large share of overtime work, above all, by working on free Saturdays. Services which are to make women's work easier in running their family do not always fulfill their tasks well. The number of creches, nursery schools, and after-school children's establishments is insufficient in some areas. Trade union organs must not ignore this situation. This is milk I am drinking.

A permanent problem also remains in the fact that women in a number of industries are put in the lowest wage grades and often carry out manual and monotonous work. [Word indistinct] from their qualification in professions is low because 81 percent of working women today fulfill the qualification requirements. We are preparing, together with the government of the Czechoslovak SR, talks on the deepening of care for working women.

Comrades, care for the rest and recreation of workers and their families is also an important part of social policy. In recent years, there has been a further considerable upward trend, above all, in the selective recreation facilities of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. More than a half a million citizens, and workers, use the holiday recreation facilities in our country every year and more than 90,000 people abroad. The problem which has existed now for some time is the selection of people: One cannot tolerate anymore the fact that the participation of workers in these holidays is 10 percent lower than their share in the total number of Revolutionary Trade Union Movement members. The holiday vouchers should be allocated on priority bases to those who are fulfilling their tasks in an exemplary manner: miners, workers in high risk production lines, and multishift workers.

Enterprise committees are still violating the duty to submit the proposals of participants in the holidays for approval at members' meetings--this is a clear example of violating trade union democracy.

Pioneer recreation organized by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is developing successfully. The aims set by the 10th congress have been exceeded. In the further period, the enterprise committees, and the (?district) trade union councils should focus attention on developing the material base, implementing new forms of pioneer holiday camps, and above all, improving educational work with children. The Trade Union Council is paying great attention to the extensive investment activity aimed at establishments which serve members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and their families. The possibilities of trade unions are not, however, endless. We have to look for methods of how to unite forces more usefully for new needs, including the utilization of local and enterprise resources.

Plans for social development are an important tool of enterprise social policy. A serious weak point, however, is in their low authority and the fact that they are not being interlinked with other parts of the economic plan.

The cultural and social needs fund serves to meet the social interests of working collectives. The allocation of money to these funds represents, comrades, an amount in excess of Kcs 7 billion annually. Works committees and managements are dutybound to manage these funds conscientiously and to use them purposefully for the benefit of the working people. The past period has confirmed once again that voluntary work, characterized by the action of trade unionists for their plants and for the republic, has its importance for improving both living and working conditions. It is necessary to continue it further and at the same time to focus even more on improving the working environment.

The care of trade unions for working people does not end at the factory gates. In this regard the agreements between regional trade union councils and the

regional national committees and between district trade union councils and district national committees on combining forces and resources to create better conditions for life in villages and towns, have proved valuable. Ranking among them is the transportation of people to their places of employment, regular supplies of goods, opening hours in shops suiting all, quick services and good quality, well functioning health service and good school facilities.

Joint participation by trade unions in the tackling of environmental issues must also be more effective.

Comrades! Social, economic and cultural development requires the continuous perfection of labor laws. The political and labor analysis of the labour code in which the Central Council of Trade Unions has shared, have confirmed that the existing concept and the fundamental understanding of legal regulations affecting labor in principle suits the current state of the development of advanced socialist society. At the same time it has been shown that the needs of the intensive development of the economy as well as the resolution of the needs and interests of the working people requires certain changes. A draft of principles to amend the labor code, specifying in greater detail the powers of trade union bodies, including the legal framework in which union officials operate, has been prepared for a discussion at our congress. In connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism it has, however, been shown that it will be necessary to harmonize the amendments of the labor code with other legal norms which are currently being drawn up. For this reason the 10th Plenary Session of the congress reached the conclusion not to discuss this problem at our congress. We recommend that the congress authorize the newly elected Central Council of Trade Unions to prepare, together with the CSSR Government, an amendment to the labor code and to submit it to the Federal Assembly for discussion and approval. We are of the opinion that the amendments which are being prepared should also be submitted for public examination.

We remind ourselves with all urgency of our joint responsibility for the observance of the socialist rule of law, of norms governing labor laws, socialist morality, and discipline. Trade union bodies and organizations are dutybound to wage a resolute struggle against manifestations of misplaced comaraderie and indifference, violations of discipline, sloth, consumption of alcohol at workplaces, wastages, and other antisocial phenomena. For this reason the Central Council of Trade Unions has given its full support to the content of the letter of the party Central Committee Presidium on intensifying the effectiveness of the struggle against violations of the principles of socialist legality, morality, and discipline and has adopted its own measures on which the bodies of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement should act.

Ranking among the prime duties of trade union bodies and of each official is to protect the rights of members, and to intervene where labor regulations are involved.

We will continue to improve the quality of the well-tried practice of the arbitration commission in this direction. The desire to improve all aspects

of life for people is the reason for all trade union activity. That is why we will continue to be involved in solving all the fundamental questions of state social policy and the enterprise-based care of working people. We will use the intrinsic potential of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to this end better than we have done so far.

Comrades, political-educational and cultural work have a firm position in trade union life. After the 10th Congress, the aim above all was to clarify and explain the party's economic and social policies, strengthen socialist relations toward work and life, and increase the cultural standards of working people and young people. It has produced certain positive results. These have been reflected, above all, in increased political and labor activity by members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, in their approach toward tackling social and economic questions in the context of the present complicated international situation, and in their solidarity with the struggle of working people in capitalist and developing countries. However, the efficiency of educational work has been reduced by insufficient links with the actual tasks of workplaces and campaigns, and by considerable formalism. Yes, a great number of lectures, discussions, and other educational events took place. However, we cannot say that this activity has produced the expected results. The main direction of the political educational work of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the current period will continue to be explaining the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, the strategy for speeding up economic and social progress, and all questions connected with restructuring social life.

The contribution of the trade unions in labor and the moral world outlook education of working and young people, their education toward socialist consciousness, their correct understanding of patriotism and the class principles of proletarian socialist internationalism are equally desirable and important. We must orientate the educational work of trade unions much more purposefully toward strengthening responsibility for the achieved labor results, increased production efficiency and quality of work. Special attention must be paid to explaining the significance of scientific-technological progress. Trade unions have a great opportunity in this field to win over and continue winning over all those who want to valorize their knowledge and initiative as much as possible. It is the interest and duty of trade unions to motivate people as much as possible, so that they do not lose their enthusiasm or courage in the struggles of today and tomorrow.

In the fields of economic propaganda and personal agitation, explaining the essence of restructuring the economic mechanism will continue to be of first-rate significance, inasmuch as it is a process which will be influenced in the long-term by each labor collective and by the life of every individual. Considerably extensive tasks are ahead of us in this sphere. In educational influence we are still not making sufficient use of the broad possibilities of schools of socialist labor. To increase efficiency in this broadest form of political and economic education of the working people necessitates a more marked link up between theory and everyday practice at workplaces. This is the only way to influence the creation of a healthy political and moral climate. The primary task of the coming period is to generally elucidate the

principles of restructuring the economic mechanism and the draft bill on state enterprise.

Comrades, ever since the last trade union congress, we have also achieved a number of positive results in education work among young people. However, there are also weak points. For example, one cannot say that we are not fulfilling the aim which sets out that the education of young people be constantly in the forefront of the interest of all the trade union organs and organizations. Good results were achieved in the sphere of labor activity of young people. First hand experience is being gained in the sphere of involving children and young people in scientific-technological development, above all in the activity of young technicians and naturalists.

All these are the assets on our path. However, the trade union bodies have to devote greater and more consistent attention to solving social and other problems of young people. The activity of the trade unions in forming the class consciousness of the young generation is becoming more significant in enabling young people to continue in a worthy manner the work of the preceding generation. We have to be concerned about some actions of a part of young people in apprenticeship and young workers which are contrary to the traditions of the working class and to the moral values of socialism. An important role in forming a young generation of workers belongs to the work collectives in the plants. We are turning to the trade union organizations, to the patrons of young workers, and to the front-ranking workers, to engineers and to economic managements to devote consistent attention to the specialized and political training of the new generation of workers, and to influence things in particular with their personal example. In solving all these issues concerning the life of the young generation, we shall continue to develop cooperation with the Socialist Youth Union and with its pioneer organization.

The cultural and educational bodies of the revolutionary trade unions are fulfilling a significant role in forming the socialist style of life. However, it has to be said openly that organizations and trade union bodies still exist which undervalue their significance as the most important part of ideological and educational influence, of raising the educational standard and the overall cultural advance of the people. Cultural and educational activity is often understood in an incorrect and one-sided way. The basis is viewed either as being in the interest of artistic activity, in organizing social entertainment or discotheques or in providing--or to be more precise in selling tickets for various cultural actions, etc. The trade unions' cultural amenities are an important tool of cultural and educational activity. Despite the good and remarkable results many of them have not as yet been fulfilling to the full extent their basic ideological and political mission. The educational activity and artistic direction of educational and cultural activities have to be closer and more thoughtfully linked with the objectives of all society, with the needs and interests of the working people. They should not be [word indistinct] subjected to commercial viewpoints. The topical task is to use cultural amenities also during days off and during holiday time. A lot of funds is expended very year by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement on cultural and educational activity. We are interested in and we also possess the right to ask for their effective utilization. Our organization has

traditionally good relations with artistic and creative unions. We appreciate the understanding of those artistic and cultural workers who are helping to develop valuable artistic activity, who are preparing various programs and exhibitions and who help in cadres training. The artists, who through their work and activity contribute toward the enrichment of cultural values of socialism, will always enjoy our full support.

Physical education and sport are an indivisible part of the activity of the trade union organization. Recent years have confirmed that apart from a successful contribution to the Czechoslovak Spartakiade and to some other good results, the primary revolutionary trade union organizations are continuously not successful in creating a wide basis for recreational physical education, sport, and tourism. This relates in full to sport contests, banners, cups of the Central Council of the Revolutionary Trade Unions and of the Czech and Slovak Trade Union Councils, which are lacking a wider background of regular sports activity of works collectives.

The further orientation of trade union physical education is connected with the demand for a more significant contribution to implementing the program for the further mass development of physical education, tourism, and paramilitary sports between working and young people. This means organizing leisure time sport activity consistently, improving sports activity available on holiday provided by the trade unions, and more actively promoting the introduction of short exercise breaks at workplaces.

The trade union press in particular, especially the dailies PRACE and PRACA, carry out worthy and useful work in popularizing the work of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. We are glad to note that the standard of content was improved in the last few years. However, this obliges the rest of the collectives and all journalists working for the trade union press to make their papers a real platform for a lively exchange of views and opinions and reflect truthfully people's life and problems. In this field we all have considerable reserves, including the trade union journals. A higher standard of trade union press presupposes better work with correspondents and here we also have to look into the material-technical conditions of press and trade union literature. We also appreciate that the activity of trade unions is always covered by RUDE PRAVO, PRAVDA, CTK, and radio and television.

If we want to keep abreast of our time and the standard of the tasks of restructuring, we must radically improve the content of political-educational and the cultural activity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and increase the demands on assessing their standard and efficiency.

Comrades, to safeguard the growing social role and responsibility of trade unions is unthinkable without consistently improving the standard of trade union life and further democratizing it; without improving the ability to act in the primary organizations and the higher trade union bodies; and without further growth in the political and working activity of the membership. If we evaluate the work of our organization in this direction in recent period we can say many positive things about it, but there have also been delays, many displays of routine approach, and of formalism and bureaucracy

in the attitude of trade union bodies and officials toward members and work. In this connection the words of Comrade Zapotocky at the Prague Conference in 1949 are still topical when he was asked how to apply the right line of trade union policy in daily practical work, he said, I quote, I have one piece of advice only: less generalization, less rigidity, less philosophizing, and more concrete practical work.

The principle of the internal life of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is without doubt in keeping with the communist character and role of socialist trade unions. However, it is a fact that it is not applied in the life of many primary organizations and bodies. Comrades, we cannot accept this state of affairs. As has already been said, the primary organizations decide the activity and results of the activity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. The trade union membership meetings must be a forum for wide democratic exchanges of opinion on all problems in the workplace, on everything that bothers, interests, and worries people. We do not have the right to be indifferent at membership meetings and the sessions of trade union bodies to shortcomings, overlooking problems, and complaints by members. We must speak and act directly and openly, otherwise the confidence in our organization will fall.

Meeting the interests and needs of members and winning them over to active work in our organization demands paying greater attention to the work with the individual social and age groups, particularly with women and young people.

Let us also draw old age pensioners, who form a considerable part of the membership of our organization, into active work more than hitherto and let us make use of their work, political, and life experiences.

Comrades! The 10th All-Trade Union Congress stressed that the improvement of trade union activity is dependent, among other things, on bringing about a fundamental change in the style and methods of managerial and organizational work by all Revolutionary Trade Union Movement bodies. We have, however, failed to bring about more profound changes. In the style and method of trade union organizations' work there persist no small number of ineffective and frequently formalistic meetings and discussions at which nothing is resolved. Unnecessary reports and returns are demanded frequently. It will be necessary to overcome more quickly undesirable dual track practices and duplication in the activity of the individual trade union and all-trade union bodies. The practice confirms that the causes lie, above all, in mutual relations between their leading officials and staff members. No directive or resolution can define precisely and unequivocally "spheres of influence." However, the main task facing these bodies is to create jointly and in a co-ordinated manner all-round conditions for the work of primary organizations. At the same time, the need to further simplify the complicated structure of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has been shown to be an urgent matter.

At recent conferences and congresses, critical voices have been heard once again concerning the complexity of our organizational structure. Questions were raised whether all trade union bodies are necessary as to their function

and whether they are useful. We are of the opinion that these observations are largely justified. Our congress ought to instruct the next Central Trade Union Council to discuss these issues and to tackle them gradually.

The purpose is to make our organization more capable action and to make it to discharge its mission well in the conditions of the restructuring of our society. We expect central trade bodies to show greater initiative in dealing with their partner bodies and that they will secure consistently, in the conditions of their respective branches, specific tasks in both the economic sphere and social policy. All-trade union bodies must apply even more resolutely their directing, coordinating and supervisory roles. Active co-operation with national committees and a more conspicuous share in comprehensive territorial development also rank as part of their mission.

The Czech and Slovak Trade Union Councils should devote more attention than before to generalizing and disseminating tested experience and to exercising their supervisory function. The Central Trade Union Council must improve the quality of its work methods and improve its management in relation to the centers of the individual trade unions and to the Czech and Slovak Trade Union Councils. For this reason we continue to regard the action plans of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which have proven themselves, as being one of the main tools for influencing the activity of primary organizations.

Comrades! Our organization's standard of activity is dependent, to a considerable degree, on the abilities of our body of officials. Lately there has been a further improvement in its quality. The working-class core has increased, now amounting to almost 50 percent. We need to continue along this path and to draw even more workers directly from the shop floor into holding office, acquire officials from among young people and women, and draw in as well members of other political parties and those without any party affiliation. We must take care to insure an influx of fresh, new cadres into trade union bodies, who will bring into its activity new militancy, energy, and resolution in tackling tasks and overcoming shortcomings in our work. A comradely attitude toward cadres must be linked with an even greater degree of exactingness and principle-mindedness.

Among the body of trade unions activists working within the all-trade union framework, on whose selfless work the trade union activity is based, we have no small number of politically mature, selfless, and experienced officials. In view of the fact that the ranks of trade union activists have been rejuvenated of late, it is necessary to devote considerable attention to political and specialist training.

A significant role goes to the College of Antonin Zapotocky and the School of Frantisek (?Zubka). Both schools must take an appropriate part in the training of officials in connection with restructuring of the economic mechanism and the law on state enterprise. Cadre work must be marked by greater purposefulness and a principled manner. We still strive for the necessary stabilization of cadres, but not at the expense of the stabilization of those officials and workers who do not display the necessary initiative and resolution, or who cannot cope with their tasks. While improving the quality of

purposefulness and resolution, the quality of the trade union apparatus also must be improved. New tasks require that specialist political readiness also be considerably improved so that new tasks may be safeguarded in a creative manner. The restructuring of the economic mechanism, the adoption of the law on state enterprise, and the democratization of our social life are creating new conditions for the activity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. This will require appropriate changes in the statutes of the movement. The current stage of working out the principles of restructuring, however, does not make it possible to put forward concrete proposals. Therefore, [word indistinct] congress proposes to alter the statutes. We recommend that this be discussed at a later period, after our congress, with the possible utilization of Article 17, that is, at a state-wide conference of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

Comrades, financial guarantees also are important for the successful activity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. We can announce to the congress that the financial resources from member contributions are sufficient for the actual activity of trade unions. However, the present resources are not fully sufficient as regards safeguarding the spheres of recreation, education, and culture. We are seeking internal reserves. In the sphere of financial expenditures and the management of trade union property, we shall insure efficiency, and prevent waste or even thefts and frauds. We shall also guide lower-grade trade union organs toward improved economies.

Comrades, the entire progressive world is celebrating today, together with the Soviet people, the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new stage of the history of mankind. In the past decades, the USSR has overcome many obstacles. It has emerged successfully from all the struggles to fulfill the most sacred ideals of mankind. It has set an example for us and for others. The historical struggle between the two differing socio-political systems has become exceptionally intense. The deepening crisis of capitalism, particularly the drive of U.S. imperialism, continue to sharpen the contradictions between labor and capital. This struggle is fully reflected in the international trade union movement. The ruling circles of the West literally declared war on trade unions, limiting their activities and rights. That is why trade unionists from the capitalist countries at the 11th World Trade Union Congress fully endorsed the idea of trade unions' greater ability to act, multilateral cooperation, joint mass rallies of the working people, and the necessity for unity of action in the struggle with imperialism, against war, and for disarmament and lasting peace in the world. We are filled with pride that we belong to the socialist community, which has freed the working people from exploitation and which constantly improves the material, social, and cultural standards of the people.

Comrades, life and peace are mutually inseparable. The USSR, together with the support of its allies, has been and is striving for concrete agreements with the aim of putting an end, once and for all, to war and of saving mankind and civilization from destruction. We have always been identified with this effort; we have taken an active part in it. The new peace initiatives of the USSR, our country, and the other socialist countries are gaining significance in the current international situation. The Czechoslovak working people are

fully supporting all of them, including doing away with medium-range missiles and setting up nuclear-free zones.

We fully support the new initiatives put forward by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Czechoslovakia. We will continue to use all possibilities for following this grand peace policy of the Soviet Union. We will aim our efforts at creating the conditions for achieving the trade unions' unity of action on the issues of peace and disarmament. We will continue to strengthen and consolidate the traditional fraternity and widen all-round cooperation with Soviet trade unions and to adopt in a creative way everything that has been proven successful in their activity. Especially now, after the 18th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions, we have a sufficient amount of inspiration and findings for the new stage of our cooperation. We see a wide field of activity in the interaction of developing direct production contacts, in setting up joint enterprises and organizations, in developing specialization and cooperation in exchanging experience between our two organizations, and in the participation of trade unions in the restructuring of society. The comradely working relations with the trade unions of other countries of the socialist community also will be deepened. In relation to the partners from the capitalist countries, we will direct our efforts at developing a constructive dialogue and supporting mutually advantageous cooperation; we will accentuate everything we have in common and which is in the interests of the working people. We will deepen cooperation with the major West European trade unions and with the members of the World Federation of Trade Union. Although there exist between us and some trade union centers in the West differing views of various problems, we consider it possible to find a common language in a predominant majority of them, for instance, in the influence of new technologies on living and working conditions, the creation and protection of both the living and working environment, the contribution of trade unions to the development of economic relations between East and West and, in particular, the issues of the struggle for peace. We are certain that the urgency of creating in our continent a unity of action against imperialism will lead--despite the resistance of some Western trade union representatives--from the present day forms of cooperation to the pan-European trade union meeting.

We will continue to participate in the activity of the International Labor Organization and we will strive toward removing the barriers which prevent this organization from fulfilling its mission. The World Federation of Trade Unions, the seat of which has been in Prague for more than 4 years, enjoys our full support. We received with approval the conclusions of the World Trade Union Congress, which outlined the major tasks in deepening international trade unions' solidarity in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

We express our support for solidarity with the working people of Chile, who are struggling against Pinochet's dictatorship; to the progressive trade union leaders from Nicaragua, who have to defend their homeland with weapons; to the working people of the African Republic [as heard], who are defending their right to human dignity; to the people of the African frontline states, who are exposed to the continuous attacks of imperialism; to the Palestinians, who are struggling for the right to their national existence and homeland; and to our brothers-in-class in other countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

We appreciate the fact that the overwhelming majority of our members shows class feelings through their contributions to the Revolutionary Trade Unions Solidarity Funds. Thanks to this, we are able to help in cadres training, to give wide support to progressive trade unions in the world, as well as material assistance to those for whom it is necessary. From our congress we send comradely greetings to all trade union members, and to the fighters for peace and disarmament, against imperialism, and for social progress.

Comrades, our whole society and organization advanced a step forward over the past 5 years. In our everyday work we encountered the full support and assistance of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The annual membership meetings, the conferences, and the republic and union congresses showed that the unity of our ranks, which is so important for the fulfillment of the tasks in the forthcoming period of developed socialist society, has been further strengthened.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement endorsed the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress because it expressed the interests of the working class and all working people. We take with full seriousness our share of responsibility for its fulfillment. A new and demanding task awaits us. The strategy of accelerating the economic and social development and the restructuring of our public life requires a departure from stereotypes and from everything that has been outlived. It requires new thinking, new approaches, and mainly concrete actions. The report that was put to you, delegates of the congress, for discussion expresses the basic direction of our future activity. It contains a number of urgent themes, some of which are quite new. We expect that issues connected with the participation of the trade unions in the restructuring of social life and the economic mechanism will take an important place in the discussions at our congress. Also topical is a further democratization in the life of the trade union and the provision of more information for its members because the more we talk to the people and the better are they informed, the higher is their contribution to decision-making, and the greater is their initiative and their support for socialist development.

This approach is solving the problems that persist in our work and will certainly take its place in the discussion of the congress. It will take this issue and many other issues before our congress shows that we conduct our discussion on the level of the requirements and needs of the time, in the interests of socialism and the working people. We have a reliable base, the starting point for thinking matters over and for establishing conclusions: It is the Leninist idea of trade union activity in socialism. It is not enough just to quote the words that the trade unions are the school of socialism, the school of administration and management for millions of working people. Our actions must be guided by them and, in the main, they must be applied to today's conditions.

In our future activity we will joint the rich revolutionary activities and traditions of our trade unions. The ideas that it is impossible to live in the old way and that everyone is to be a master at his own workplace, among others, sound--although in different conditions--just as urgent as they did years ago. We have to mobilize in full the knowledge, abilities, and zeal of trade

union members and of all working people, and to demonstrate that the trade unions and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement indeed have a trade-union face, that they will show their revolutionary nature through an active contribution to the solution of all social questions, that they contribute to the achievement of further success in the economy, culture, social guarantees, and the development of socialist democracy. The results of our work will be increasingly higher and we will attain them more quickly if we manage to develop a new activity of the working people and if we observe that each creative action and suggestion enjoys the support of the works collective.

May our congress, which takes place in the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the forthcoming 40th anniversary of victorious October, mark a resolute beginning of the fulfillment of the plan and the Gottwald's slogan: Forward, comrades! Not a step back!

/9274

CSO: 2400/221

## PRAGUE TV CARRIES TU CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

LD141036 [Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak at 0755 GMT on 14 April begins a live relay of the opening of the 11th All-Trade Union Congress in Prague.

At 0803 GMT Ivan Gonko, chairman of the Slovak TU Council opens the congress by welcoming a CPCZ and government delegation led by Husak, and by summing up precongress conferences of TU organizations.

At 0815 GMT presidium members are unanimously elected. Voting then takes place on the agenda.

At 0824 GMT Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, begins speaking. He speaks about achievements made in the economy since the last congress, but notes there are still shortcomings. He talks about the need for restructuring. He notes that the labor code is to be amended as part of the restructuring.

At 0955 GMT Zavadil finishes speaking.

BBC is texting 91-minute Zavadil speech which London bureau will file at priority precedence as available from BBC.

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CSO: 2400/221

**SITUATION IN SERVICE SECTOR REVIEWED**

AU041600 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "On the Standard of Services for the Public"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)--The Sixth Session of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission was held in Prague on Tuesday [31 March]. Chaired by Jaroslav Hajn, its chairman, the commission discussed the results of a review regarding the fulfillment by party members in managerial posts and by party organizations in national committees, including production and housing co-operatives and other organizations run by national committees, of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Sixth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee from the viewpoint of further developing services for the public and improving their quality.

Attending the session were Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, the pertinent ministers of the two national governments, and other officials.

The results of the review that the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission carried out provide an objective picture of the present standard of services for the public. They show that services have been improved, partially expanded, and the delivery time has been shortened in some localities, thanks to the solicitude of party agencies, governments, national committees, and production and housing cooperatives. More than 3,000 new service facilities have opened since the Sixth CPCZ Central Committee Session of 1982. Emergency, Saturday, and Sunday services are being gradually introduced. Progress has been made in the provision of supplementary forms of services. Almost 70,000 people work in small service facilities attached to national committees. The number of citizens providing services on the basis of permits issued by national committees increased twofold in the last 5 years.

The CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission noted that, in spite of these partial improvements, a fundamental qualitative turnaround as required by the 17th CPCZ Congress has not yet taken place in the sphere of services. The situation has even deteriorated at some places. No marked headway has been made in the quality and accessibility of services, especially in larger towns, at housing estates, and in central villages.

Many national committees and cooperative agencies, and their apparatus, steer services by outdated methods; sometimes they do so with the consent and support of party agencies and the ranking personnel of sectors. A considerable number of service organizations and production cooperatives prefer to work for social organizations rather than for citizens as this is financially more rewarding for them.

The management and administration of services are intolerably cost-intensive and needlessly complicated. Many activities are unprofitable as a result.

All of this is corroborated by the great number of justified complaints about the quality and availability of services.

The development of services is negatively influenced by the shortage of qualified tradesmen. The situation in supplies of materials and equipment is unsatisfactory. There is a long-standing shortage of good quality materials and spare parts.

The technological base of services is among the most backward ones. Research institutes and regional organizations for the development of technology in the local economy are not living up to their assignment in this respect.

Losses in the housing economy are also increasing, owing to, in particular, the poor quality work by building organizations in the construction of new apartments and the great neglect of the housing stock. The absolutely unsatisfactory situation in housing-related services continues. In the period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan society appropriates Kcs28 billion for the maintenance, repairs, and modernization of apartments. If these resources are to be spent efficiently, it is necessary to expand the capacity of large and local construction facilities and of the housing organization's maintenance centers and to make use of the building squads of other enterprises.

The session of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission showed, among other things, the need to enforce fundamental changes in organizing the management of the enterprises of the local and housing economy and the management of cooperatives, to eliminate unnecessary intermediary links, to increase their autonomy, and to reinforce the economic base of towns and central villages.

It was stressed in the discussion at the commission's session that poor services embitter people's lives and have a negative impact on the entire national economy. Many citizens evaluate the entire socialist system and the party's policy according to their quality and availability. If we want to accelerate our economic and social development and ensure a continuous growth of the living standards, it will be unavoidable to improve services for the public in order to permit every individual to concentrate on the fulfillment of his work obligations and to preclude his being left to the mercies and outrageous demands and prices of racketeers, bunglers, and moonlighters.

The report on the results of the review carried out by the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, supplemented by the measures being prepared by the pertinent working group of the CSSR Government with the aim of restructuring the economic mechanism in services, will be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

## HAVLIN ADDRESSES CZECH ARTISTS' CONGRESS 1 APRIL

AU130931 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 87 p 5

[Report on speech by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the Fourth Congress of the Czech Union of Composers and Concert Artists in Prague on 1 April]

[Excerpts] The congresses of artists' unions have always been exceptionally important political and social events, Josef Havlin said in the opening part of his speech.

The congresses of artists' unions are being held at a time when the way we look at the past years, our work results, all social activity, and the tasks of the coming years is qualitatively different and more clearly critical and more exacting than at any time in the construction of socialism to date. It is directly influenced by everything that Soviet society is today experiencing in fulfilling the programmatic objectives determined by the 27th CPSU Congress. The greatness and exactingness of these objectives are unprecedented and show the whole world the potential and capabilities of socialism and, without doubt, also its attractiveness in quite new forms.

We are direct participants in the great and offensive struggle of our entire party and all working people to fulfill unusually great and exacting tasks, to change the style and methods of work in all spheres of social activity, and develop everything that has acquitted itself well in practice to date, while at the same time ensuring the broadest possible application of the new thinking and highly creative initiative and activity in the process of the further construction of socialism, Josef Havlin said. We must most firmly assert without delay, in all work, and in management work in particular, the high demands arising from the strategy of acceleration of socioeconomic development and intensification of the national economy by means of scientific-technical progress. And here the complex process of educating the new, socialistically-thinking and -acting person, and his way of life, comes to the fore with unprecedented exactingness. Comprehending the purpose, objectives, and tasks of the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society and of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, Josef Havlin said requires us to systematically stress that all this is objectively necessary and that there is no alternative. It requires us to stress that we too are

interested in strengthening socialism, and not undermining it, that we too want to raise socialism to a higher level and that, with restructuring, we will perfect the values of socialism, while at the same time we will not permit anything to weaken it or cast doubt on it.

We must also systematically stress the importance of restructuring in spiritual life, because without changes in the psychology of people, without strengthening their socialist awareness we cannot fully succeed. The line of the acceleration must not only be propagated, it must also be consistently implemented. The acceleration of the restructuring of society and achieving a qualitatively higher level also requires that ideotheoretical activity be activated. It is necessary to make clear progress in the sphere of creative scientific comprehension of new phenomena and processes of social life.

This task is all the more topical, because theoretical ideas about socialism are trailing [zaostaly]. A rigid picture of socialism has more or less become anchored in the people's consciousness. Up to now, teaching about socialism and communism has been interpreted simplistically, in a considerably abstract manner, without scientific analysis of real facts and previous practical experience.

/9274  
CSO, 2400/221

## COLOTKA ADDRESSES SLOVAK DRAMA ARTISTS

AU140755 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 87 p 5

[Report on speech by Peter Golotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, premier of the Slovak SR, and head of the delegation of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and Slovak Government to the Fifth Congress of the Slovak Drama Artists' Union. in Bratislava on 30 March: "Multifaceted Nature of Life Deserves a More Convincing Picture"]

[Excerpts] We are publishing the most important thoughts from the statement made by Comrade Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak SR, at the Fifth Congress of the Slovak Drama Artists' Union on Monday [30 March].

Peter Colotka began by wishing the congress, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL), the Slovak National Council, and the Government of the Slovak SR, success and rich results, and by expressing the hope that they will contribute to further enriching our culture and thus also to improving the lives of citizens in our socialist society.

The current congresses of our artists' unions are searching for, and finding, an answer to the question about the tasks which our cultural front is to undertake and accomplish in the revolutionary process of accelerating, improving, and restructuring the socialist society.

It is the task of dramatic arts, in all their forms, to extract pure truth about current social processes from the real conflicts of our times, and to uncover the antagonisms and substance of the forces moving them. For instance, currently there is a tangible absence of heroes on our stage, television and film screens, and in our radio programs who are carriers of scientific-technical progress in electronics, computer technology, robotics, and today's other progressive sectors. Our society justly expects plays that seek solutions in broader social contexts, in the realities of a specific work process and of specific working and civic collectives.

The latest theater seasons have indicated the sincere and creative interest of dramatic artists in engaged creativity, in the search for new methods of expression and realization, as well as in increased responsibility for the ideological artistic impact of theater productions. We are sincerely glad

that the dramatic arts of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationalities are also developing in parallel with the development of our Slovak drama. Both the Hungarian Provincial Theater, and the Ukrainian National Theater are an integral part of our theater life; together with them we are glad of their successes.

In registering the positive aspects of original creativity we nevertheless have to point out the considerable reserves, and almost shortcomings, existing here. After the hopeful beginning at the beginning of the seventies, with honorable exceptions, Slovak dramatic arts have failed to produce any striking artistic successes in approximately the last 10 years. Alongside works of more durable quality we see quite a number of works emerging with an unconvincing ideological message, works that avoid any direct mention of burning topics. Other works show only very shaky attributes of a more demanding interpretation of artistic creativity.

All the kinds and genres of theater are capable of saying a great deal with their excellent interpretations of the classics. The successes of the classics on our stage show the maturity of our theater culture. The only thing is, the center of gravity in the theater's struggle for the present and for tomorrow must lie in contemporary drama.

In recent years the present has been represented on our stage above all by Soviet dramatic artists. As a rule they call a spade a spade, they delve to the core of problems, and give shape to the present and its great topics, but also to the complicated intimate world of the man of today. Their inspiration also lies in the fact that they uncover all that is truly essential and, as an accompanying phenomenon, all that is merely exciting and stirring, while avoiding various popular pseudo-problems.

The most convincing results are being achieved by the theaters that are a lively, active artistic workshop. Deplorably, we also have theaters that lack leading integrating personalities who are capable of filling the entire performing collective with enthusiasm for creative work. Striking artistic personalities should dominate every artistic organism in a health manner. They should determine the main creative stream.

In our view, the network of outstanding theaters in Slovakia essentially corresponds to the needs of our society and the actual development of theater itself. However, one should be more flexible about setting up smaller artistic ensembles (such as studio-type theaters, or to use a simile, laboratories for theatrical experiments). We also lack a regular satirical-cabaret type of theater, which would hold up a critical mirror to the diseases in our present life and pillory petit bourgeois attitudes, profit-seeking, idleness, and other manifestations of antisocial conduct.

In addition, we also consider it necessary to improve theater management and adopt a new approach to dealing with problems and conceptual issues of theatrical practice, above all in connection with applying the principles of restructuring our economic mechanism. The position of artistic directors must be strengthened and they must be freed from excessive paperwork. The

profiles of arts councils must be crystallized and their decision-making independence and responsibility for dramaturgical plans must be enhanced. The way auditions are held must be examined and the whole theater economy must be reassessed. The theaters in Trnava and Martin are getting ready to implement and experiment inspired by a similar experimental process in Soviet theaters.

Alongside the increasingly demanding tasks for the arts, artistic criticism is now also becoming increasingly important. Following the example of Soviet artistic criticism, its task is to be more principled in separating the wheat from the chaff, in getting rid of leniency and the tendency to kowtow; to call things and phenomena in the individual forms of art by their proper name; to conduct a constructive dialogue with creative artists; and to provide a reliable orientation in artistic values for the public.

There are a number of tasks outstanding in our theory of arts. We badly feel the lack of a systematic history of Slovak theater. We are glad that practical steps are at long last being taken to set up a theater museum.

Within the framework of the dramatic arts, an essential role is played by film, television, and radio.

In harmony with the report on the union's activities, we are pleased to say that a number of movies were made in the eighties, which have not only found favor with the public, but have also gone beyond the framework of the average films in this sphere. We expect filmmakers increasingly to realize their responsibility for the content and artistic standard of their works. If we support the efforts of film dramaturgy to bring the glorious periods in our nation's history closer to our citizens, at the same time we also demand of them artistically convincing works about the man of today.

The youngest, but at the same time most effective part of the dramatic arts is television. It must be said that not all screen works deserve our approval. The effort to fill up transmission time with artistic programs must not induce television creators to lower quality. We must particularly think about how to restore the good reputation that "Bratislava Television Mondays" used to have a program that demonstrated the maturity of Slovak dramatic arts and was also highly valued by viewers in the Czech SR.

Peter Colotka then stated that the Slovak Drama Artists' Union should play a more significant and active role in our cultural life. In order to do this the union must show more initiative, both in management and in its relations with the institutions in which its members work. At the same time it should strive to have the largest possible number of its members (including young members, who must be particularly helped in applying their previous professional and ideological, studies in practice) take part in the union's activities on democratic principles.

As in the past, your organization should give help to collectives engaged in artistic hobby activities and to members of amateur ensembles. Your union should not lose sight of the latest trends of scientific-technical progress that affect the dramatic arts. By this I mean the development of video

equipment, which raises important issues concerning the ability of our ideological front to ward off the various insidious attacks of our ideological adversaries.

We highly appreciate the fact that your union, its bodies, and its members profess allegiance to the policy of our Communist Party; and that you are consciously implementing the cultural policy of our socialist state, and strikingly enriching our arts by your creative activities and civic attitudes.

Permit me to express the conviction that you will continue to enrich our people's cultural life with new acts of creativity, in collaboration with the Czech artists, who have been a firm support of our professional theater from its very emergence, and in close cooperation with the dramatic artists and institutions in the Soviet Union in particular, and in other countries of the socialist community.

Our society expects from you deeply ideological works of art, particularly in connection with this year's 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which began a new era in the history of mankind. At the same time the entire sphere of dramatic arts in the coming period must naturally be permeated by the idea of the struggle for peace, to save mankind from another world war. On this fateful issue of humanity no one can stand aside, because mankind and human civilization, which has been created over milleniums, are literally confronted with Hamlet's dramatic question: to be, or not to be.

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CSO: 2400/221

## KEMPNY ADDRESSES GRAPHIC ARTISTS

AU031037 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 87 p 5

[Unattributed report on speech by Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council, head of the CPCZ and CSSR Government delegation to the Fourth Congress of Czech Graphic Artists in Prague, at the 25 March congress session: "Artistic Messages for the Future"]

[Text] Josef Kempny began by pointing out that our society has reached a kind of cross roads in historical development and must now make a good choice in selecting which road to follow. This is connected with searching for, testing, and redoing many things that we have grown accustomed to in the past. He stressed that the 17th CPCZ Congress formulated the strategy of accelerating social progress, a strategy which we do not understand in a narrow sense. This applies to science and technology, to economy, culture, democracy, internationalism, morality, in short to all sectors of social life. Like the congresses of other artists' unions, he stated, your congress should also help ensure this great social project, by means at its own disposal. We all realize how much the significance of culture for our society has grown, what an important link between the nation's culture is, and how irreplaceable its contribution is in the struggle of our times.

The current period is characterized by a new upsurge of revolutionary thinking and by creative social activity. We are becoming more and more profoundly aware of what socialism has given our people, but also of areas in which we are lagging and which we must improve. We orient ourselves toward most progressive, and simultaneously most exacting, ideas about socialism. In a period which can be historically viewed as a whole, we want to achieve high social labor productivity, ensure attractive prospects for the people's material and spiritual life, and greatly strengthen socialism's status in the world development. We are receiving invaluable assistance in explaining and resolving these issues from the theoretical [poznavaci] and practical activity of the CPSU and its leadership, headed by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, Josef Kempny said. He pointed out that we have the same goals as the Soviet Communists and the Soviet people, and that this alone forces us to pool the ways and means to attain them. Our people regard the creative development of the Leninist principles of socialist construction as the expression of their own vital interests. Nothing has changed in the validity of Leninist principles on the link between the people's creative work and science, education, and art.

The attainment of the objective interests of our socialist society needs more knowledge--but also more beauty.

The head of the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Czech SR went on to say that the congress report stresses that the Czech graphic artists see it as their task to efficiently assist by their specific means the people's live creative activity. The report, reacting to the tasks set by the 17th Congress of our party, places high demands on the contribution made by graphic culture and arts. We attribute to them an important mission in depicting the socialist reality, and in strengthening the people's determined efforts to overcome obstacles and create new socialist values. For this very reason Josef Kempny reminded those present of the program of constructive social work which the party has formulated at its congress. He stressed that the economy, its scientific-technical restructuring, its comprehensive modernization and high efficiency are the main task in all our efforts.

We are currently concentrating in our economic policy on revising the long-term plan of economic construction, J. Kempny said in the next part of his speech. In the course of the next 15 years, we want to carry out substantial changes which will enable us, with the aid of sophisticated technology and techniques, to achieve an economic performance that would be equal to that of capitalist countries. This is no small task; we must develop every material and spiritual effort to accomplish it. In this context the head of the party and government delegation recalled the Comprehensive Program of Scientific Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000, as well as the fact that we are now considering realistic measures for fully implementing this program in practice.

The second great task, he said, is to restructure management and the economy. We have, in fact, already begun to restructure; we are looking for ways to accelerate restructuring, we are testing them, he stated. We will increase the number of organizations operating according to the principle of self-management [samosprava], without any subsidies but with high performance standards. This kind of exacting situation stimulates capable people to greater creativity and motivates them to a higher performance, increasing their feeling of personal involvement. We are not developing the economy for its own sake, but as the essential material prerequisite for general comprehensive social advancement and for a fuller satisfaction of the people's varied needs. We are asking ourselves how to link all spheres of social life--science, technology, economy, social progress, living environments, culture, ideo-educational activity, and moral values. It would be a great contribution, if the people active in the arts sphere were to help us find the effective forms needed for influencing each other, and for a joint course of action, he said in this context.

We need more democratism, more social justice, and better cultural and moral standards in order to achieve our high economic goals, Josef Kampny went on to say. Such aspects are usually called nonproduction aspects, but currently they have drawn closer to production and their interrelationship and links are tighter than ever.

The purpose of socialist art is to help us demarcate our future course, to help us explain it and, to a certain extent, to mark it, in close linkage with social practice. Such works of art as architectural complexes, sculptures, pictures, works of graphic art, design works, and handicrafts, all address the man of today. They serve him, deepen his knowledge of the present, and help shape its ideas about the future. At the same time they carry a message for the coming generation, they represent a testimony to the kind of people we are, to the way we have grasped the tasks of our times, and the way we have tackled them.

The harmonious development of man as a creative personality, as the main bearer and creator of material, spiritual, and moral values, is the most important mission of socialist society; and the artistic intelligentsia makes a direct contribution to the fulfillment of this mission. Herein lies one of the essential aspects of the task of arts in our society: to cultivate noble, truly humane qualities in man, to release his vital forces and abilities, to orient him toward getting to know the truth and beauty of life, to motivate him and his actions. In artistically depicting and expressing the reality around us and in us, one cannot close one's eyes to the conflicts and antagonisms in the life of contemporary man, our contemporary society, and mankind in general.

The critical reassessment of results, the constantly revived ability to discover a source of knowledge in our own mistakes and errors, the will and readiness to repeatedly change our habitual approaches whenever they cease to correspond to the objective social needs, or even contradict them, all this must become part and parcel of our usual everyday practice, our natural working rhythm, and not only part of some isolated drive or campaign. As the leading social force, the party wants to create a social atmosphere in which a healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved evolve into the creation of new, better, and more lasting values. We are concerned with creating a social atmosphere which would promote responsible, honest, creative, innovative work for the benefit of the whole; and which would on the other hand increasingly pull the rug from under the feet of egotism, greed, avarice, indolence, indifference, and all forms of parasitism.

The head of the delegation of CPCZ Central Committee and the Government of the Czech SR then pointed out that the 17th party congress had addressed an urgent appeal to the artists' community to direct the force of all art toward promoting the new tasks of socialist construction. At the congress the party frankly declared that it would prescribe neither the themes of works of art, nor the methods of realizing them. It is the task of the artists themselves to find the most suitable ways of translating the great tasks of social progress into the language of artistic works. Naturally, the party is not, and cannot be, indifferent to the impact made by art on the development of the people's talents and energies. Surely nobody expects us to become reconciled to the idea of art without social values, and even less to a distortion of the people's tastes. The attainment of our strategic goals unconditionally demands high standards in the arts, a creative artistic atmosphere, and works that enrich our life and appeal to the man of the present, motivating his work and his way of life and making them more cultured.

The highest criterion of artistic truth is the degree to which works of art are reflected in the overcoming of conflicts in society, in the people's creative activities, and in the dramatic greatness and beauty of our life [sentence as published].

Art attains harmony with the people if it participates in their struggle and shares in developing their transforming abilities; if it appeals to their developed esthetic gifts and traditions. These spiritual riches of the people must be untiringly enhanced; the esthetic aspect of all social activity must be deepened; and both the socialist values in life and the people's moral purity must be consolidated.

Our efforts to comprehensively develop the socialist society are acquiring broad international features and are linked with the efforts of all progressive forces in our present world. It is one of art's tasks to act as mediator for contemporary trends of progressive art, above all those in socialist countries, but also throughout the progressive world.

In currently preparing social restructuring with such great enthusiasm, we expect the creative artists, too, to devote their thoughts to assessing their place and contribution to it, to formulating their demands in a responsible manner, and ensuring the upsurge of artistic creativity, Josef Kempny underscored. He stressed that it is essential to embark with greater energy on the road of a principled approach to the new strategic tasks of our society. The party has openly stated that it has no need of laudatory pictures or rose-colored paintings of reality from our arts; it needs from them truthful, graphic portrayals of life's struggles and of the ethos of socialist construction. It is necessary to totally introduce into arts such basic ideas of social restructuring as frank conduct, competitiveness, and reciprocity in developing all work, polemics and sensible debates about the best course to be followed, and an increasingly deep democratization of life.

All work is sure to progress far better if we eliminate from it group interests and exclusiveness, favoritism, and mutual back-scratching, he went on to say. At their congresses the artists are searching for, and embarking on, paths leading the all artistic life to a healthy creative atmosphere, thus creating a practical mechanism which will allot first place to the esthetic value of a work of art, and to its utility value for speeding up the socialist maturing of society. In collaboration with the state and artistic agencies, the Ministry of Culture is gradually dealing with the material conditions of artistic creation. In particular, it will be expedient to expand the scope for collective and representative exhibitions, but also for competitive working exhibitions. It will be of great use to assist the young, new creative artists to present themselves to the public. We all expect the new National Gallery to fully present the works of our graphic artists in all their variety and scope, linking all creative sectors of graphic arts.

One must attach considerable importance to artistic theory and criticism. The work of theoreticians and critics should permeate all creative art. This work cannot exist in isolation from artistic life. It must have the closest possible contact with creative artists and with the people's esthetic

awareness and feelings. It is necessary to make it an essential, natural matter--and not a matter of some personal courage or of kowtowing to individuals. This is a highly social matter which benefits artistic growth, helps the people to orient themselves in the arts, and it contributes to esthetic upbringing.

We must see to it that young artists in particular can operate in the further development of the arts as the bearers of the highest artistic demands, linked with the people's life and with the development of arts in an environment of ideological and moral purity. We must devote more care to pondering how to win young artists for works of art which would express the esthetic demands of the new times; and how to enable them to assert and express themselves, and how to surround them with an exacting, but at the same time supportive environment.

We are discussing these issues at a time when a generous program of esthetic upbringing is being prepared, a program which should strengthen the indispensable aspect of socialist life and simultaneously encourage an active attitude to life among all our people. It should help achieve a turn in the people's thinking and in their mood, and also help create high demands on cultured social activities. Our people are currently carrying out far-reaching changes, for which they need the absolutely truthful, inspiring, historically optimistic contribution of the arts.

Comrade Kempny concluded his speech by expressing the conviction that the decisive result attained at the congress will be a yet closer and more fruitful linkage of Czech graphic arts with the great tasks of building our Czechoslovak socialist fatherland and of deepening its internationalism.

He wished success to the congress, and wished the delegates, and through them all graphic artists, much creative success.

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## CONGRESS OF SLOVAK COMPOSERS CHANGES NAME

AU121939 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Apr 87 p 2

[CTK report: "The Seventh Congress of Slovak Composers Deliberated; Development of Musical Arts Is in Society's Interest"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (CTK)--Members of the Slovak Union of Composers gathered at their Seventh Congress in Bratislava yesterday, aware of their responsibility for the further development of the Czechoslovak socialist musical culture and for deepening the link between the musical arts and the national effort to accelerate socioeconomic development.

The deliberations were attended by a delegation of the CPSL Central Committee and the Government of the Slovak SR, headed by Miroslav Valek, minister of culture of the Slovak SR. The delegation included Gejza Slapka, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPSL Bratislava City Committee; Eugen Turzo, chairman of the CPSL's Central Control and Auditing Commission; and Rudolf Jurik, head of a CPSL Central Committee department.

After the election of working presidium and congress commissions, the 210 composers, concert artists, music theoreticians, and critics heard a report of the Central Committee of the Slovak Union of Composers on the union's activity since its Sixth Congress in March 1982.

After a discussion, the congress elected new union bodies--the Central Committee and the Control Commission--as well as delegates to the Third Congress of Czechoslovak Composers, which will be held in Prague on 3 June. The congress approved the proposal to rename the Slovak Union of Composers: the Slovak Union of Composers and Concert Artists.

The Central Committee elected at the session Meritorious Artist Ladislav Burlas as the chairman of the Slovak Union of Composers and Concert Artists.

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CSO: 2400/221

## BRIEFS

U.S. CONGRESSMEN RECEIVED IN PRAGUE--CTK--Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, together with the chairpersons of the Committees of Agriculture and Food of the two Federal Assembly chambers, Alexandr Sommer and Dana Kancirova, yesterday [13 April] received in Prague a group comprising members of the Agriculture Committee of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress led by the committee's chairman, E. De la Garza, which has been visiting the CSSR. They exchanged views, particularly on the role of parliaments in the two countries in developing and intensifying agricultural production, during their talk. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Apr 87 p 8 AU] /9274

IPPNW SYMPOSIUM SCHEDULED FOR PRAGUE--The Third European Regional Symposium of the International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War Movement will be held in Prague on 13-15 November this year, under the slogan "Peace in Europe--Future of Mankind." [Excerpt] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Apr 87 p 2 AU] /9274

CSSR, U.S. AGRICULTURE-RELATED ISSUES DISCUSSION--Ceske Budejovice (CTK)--Agricultural Development and Environmental Research are on the agenda of a Czechoslovak-American symposium which began in Ceske Budejovice on Tuesday [7 April]. Thus, the scientists from the South Bohemian Biology Center attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and from the American National Academy of Sciences are fulfilling in practice the agreement on mutual contacts. They are discussing, above all, the influence of the rapidly developing agricultural large-scale production, which would not unfavorably affect the surrounding natural environment but, on the contrary, would contribute to its gradual improvement. They are trying to achieve a better use of pesticides. They are discussing accelerated implementaton of research results in practice, the current development of integrated protection of plants, and other problems which can significantly help to imppove the environment. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Apr 87 p 2 AU] /9274

SOCIAL AFFAIRS TALKS' DELEGATE INTERVIEWED--Warsaw, (CTK reporter)--The conference of the ministers of social affairs from European countries, which is being held in Warsaw, is attended by representatives of 28 countries which are members of the Economic Commission for Europe; they also include a Czechoslovak delegation. Josef Siktanc, director of the International Relations Department in the CSSR Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, who is a member of

the delegation, talked to a CTK reporter about the course of the conference to date, stating that it is in fact the very first time that representatives of all of Europe have met on such a representative level to discuss cooperation in the social sphere. We are aware that the issue concerns the cooperation of two differing social systems, the Czechoslovak representative said. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Apr 87 p 7 AU] /9274

AUSTRIA'S VRANITZKY VISITS CSSR--The Austrian press agency APA has announced that Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky today left for a several-day private talk to Czechoslovakia. The agency quotes a spokesman for the chancellor as saying that Franz Vranitzky will spend 2 or 3 days in our country. [Text] [Prague Television Service in Czech 1748 GMT 15 Apr 87 LD] /9274

CSO, 2400/221

## SOCIAL SCIENCE, IDEOLOGY TALKS WITH SOVIETS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Feb 87 p 5

[Article by Eugeniusz Gajda: "Facing Transitions: Polish-Soviet Cooperation in the Social Sciences"]

[Text] The world in which we live is undergoing transformations that are rapid and deep. It is not just the balance of power between socialism and capitalism that is shifting. Changes of a social, political, and economic nature are also taking places within the capitalist world. Just a few years ago nobody dreamed that the United States,, which for decades had played the role of world banker, would become a debtor country and that Japan would take its place.

During the congresses of the brother parties, especially the 27th CPSU Congress, the new processes occurring in the modern world were treated in a general, creative fashion. At the same time, a number of tasks were framed for the social sciences in socialist countries, fields that should provide a more rapid response to the new questions which life is presenting than they have been doing in the past.

The interdisciplinary theoretical conferences sponsored under the auspices of the Polish-Soviet Commission on Cooperation in the Social Sciences, established in 1984, has made a very interesting and fruitful attempt to provide such answers. In May 1984, the subject of the conference held in Warsaw was "Theoretical Problems in the Construction of Socialism." In June 1985, a conference entitled "Criticism of Nonmarxist Concepts of Socialism" was held in Moscow. The fruit of these conferences were published in 1986 in two books. The authors of the papers were well-known Polish and Soviet scientists, including H. Cholaj, Z. Cackowski, B. Bialokozowicz, T. Jaroszewski, W. Iskra, E. Topolski, M. Perczynski, and G. Smirnov, A. Butenko, T. T. Khachaturov, and P. Movchan. Because of the interdisciplinary approach, the various problems and phenomena received comprehensive treatment.

Questions concerning the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the criteria for evaluating the culmination of this stage hold a very important place, especially in the book devoted to the theoretical problems of the construction of socialism. Many authors expressed themselves on this subject, a problem which is of great theoretical and practical importance, and

emphasized that in the assessment of the various stages of the transitional period, including its culmination, attention should be given not only to criteria concerning the sphere of material production but even more so to the whole gestalt of life in society. The various articles took up current often controversial problems concerning the nature of the conflicts arising during the process of socialist construction, universal laws, and specific features that take into account a given country's historic and cultural conditions.

An important problem that appears in both books is the search for effective methods for overcoming the ideological sabotage and psychological warfare that imperialist forces have been intensifying in recent years. In order effectively to unmask bourgeois propaganda, for example, it should be shown that the theoretical and philosophical principles upon which it is based are false. This is why the articles in the book entitled "Krytyka niemarksistowskich koncepcji socjalizmu" (A Criticism of Nonmarxist Concepts of Socialism) are so important. A critical analysis of the most popular bourgeois and capitalist theories shows that they are superficial and have anticommunist goals.

It is characteristic of most of the articles in both books that their context is Polish. The political events and processes occurring in Poland during recent years, particularly during the period of the severe political crisis in 1980-1981, and the methods of the struggle that the internal and external enemies waged against socialism are analyzed in depth. This is understandable, when we consider that for a number of years the forces of imperialism waged a concentrated attack against socialist Poland. The imperialist forces' offensive against Poland ended in a fiasco. Poland was not isolated, being able to count on the help and support of socialist allies, especially the Soviet Union.

In praising both books, the theoretical-political journal KOMMUNIST wrote in a review published in No 9, 1986, as follows, for example: "The contemporary stage of ideological confrontation on both the national and international scale calls for a new approach, better preparation of propaganda cadres, the skilled coordination of joint efforts, and the directing of the force of Marxist criticism against the most tendentious bourgeois and revisionist concept. It is important to insure that joint ideological activity has a truly effective offensive nature."

The joint conferences and publications are the fruit of the development of cooperation between Polish and Soviet scholars in the social sciences. Further development of this cooperation, discussions, and interchanges of ideas between scholars is an important instrument in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of brother parties present the social sciences with important tasks. The rate of changes occurring in socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, is so great that we can accomplish these tasks only through joining efforts.

10790  
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## COMMENTARY PROPOSES LIMITATIONS ON WORKERS UNIVERSITIES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by M.R.: "Workers Universities: Everything for Everyone?"]

[Text] Janusz A., an office workers, decided to change occupations. Encouraged by announcements in the newspapers, he applied for an appropriate course at the nearby ZSMP Workers' University. He was turned down. He made his own papers, as they say, and today he is running his own cafe. Thanks to ZSMP he has become a person in private enterprise.

Henryk Wochowski, director of the ZSMP Workers' Universities Office says that we should look at this example in a somewhat different fashion. Now, all the courses run by the workers universities have fees. Some are especially profitable, for example, the one mentioned. Nobody has ever paid extra for the workers' universities. For years the workers' universities have been assisted by their organization, ZSMP, and it runs into the millions.

#### Genuine Need

There is no doubt that the workers universities are not something dreamed up. They were borne out of a real need. The first came into being 30 years ago, in April 1957, in the Praga section of Warsaw. It was to play the role of an institution of higher education operating on the principle of a general university. It had deans, academic departments, and professorial chairs, including those in fine arts and theatre. There were grade cards and matriculation registers. In a short time, though, life proved that the desire to build up workers' intellectual and cultural needs in this way was correct. In connection with the appearance of new branches of industry, the country needed a qualified labor force.

Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of workers had not even graduated from elementary school. This fact was key in determining the further development of the workers' universities, at a rapid rate and in a way somewhat different from that originally anticipated. The focus was on two issues: to supplement initial schooling and to improve vocational qualifications.

Today, under the auspices of ZSMP, which assumed the running of the universities from its predecessor, the Union of Socialist Youth, there are 49

voivodship facilities and nearly 200 local facilities in operation. Just last year nearly a half million people availed themselves of its programs.

Today, first of all, the workers' universities have what are called general courses. In the later period alone that they have assisted nearly 6,000 to acquire qualifications and complete basic vocational school through extension. These people have been interested in vocations in farming, horticulture, construction, or mining. A similar number of students have availed themselves of the opportunity to attend free -- this is an exception -- courses preparing them for college entrance. Nearly 5,000 students attended to workers' universities to supplement their education from the last grades of elementary and secondary school. It is worth adding that the workers' universities here act as tutors that are cheaper and sometimes better than private tutors. It is a matter of providing competition.

The workers' universities are not in competition with the school system, however. It is true that they set up -- and this is their second mission -- courses enabling people to become, for example, a waiter or pastry cook, but they could learn the same trades in catering school. One should remember, however, that certain people enroll in a school, while others attend a course.

The third line of activity involves setting up what are called personal interest courses. In this instance the workers' universities make it possible to acquire a skill in repairing household appliances, in tailoring and dressmaking, or in photography.

At the Bydgoszcz Ponar-Formet Metal Form Factory, one of the many that avail themselves of the offers made by the workers' universities, a course in English has been given for the past 2 years. Barbara Pilichowska, head of the training section, says that they had a choice of either the workers' university or the Oswiata Cooperative. They decided on the former, after unhappy experience with Oswiata, and they are not sorry. The university has provided a good teacher, and, besides that, they have offered the possibility of consultation centers, setting up courses at levels I, II, and III, and holding state examinations.

#### There Are No Impossible Things

Henryk Wochowski knows that for the workers' universities there are no impossibilities. Some seven or ten people come anxious to study macrame, and, what do you know! the classes are set up. Are there people interested in Tunisian crochet? They will not be sent away disappointed. A place of employment asks for a course in occupational hygiene and safety. No problem. Taken care of. Complete openness.

The paradox is that these unlimited possibilities are the result of a lack of our own staff and our own facilities. The workers' universities employ specialists from various institutions, depending on the need. They use the facilities in houses of culture, enterprises, and schools, also in keeping with needs.

Nice? Nice, "but." The offers, the papers flooding the plant training offices, show that the workers' universities make the same proposals as the ZDZ, the Association of Polish Engineers and Mechanics, and so on. It happens, often enough, that the Gdansk plants are offered a welding course by a Wroclaw center, plus a Rzeszow center, as well as a Poznan center. But Barbara Pilichowska, drowning in offers, wonders if it would not be better for each one to specialize in one branch. For example, just Lingwista in foreign languages, just ZDZ for vocational continuing education, and just the workers' universities for upgrading general knowledge. The thematic dispersion causes a scattering of resources. Why?

This is a broad subject. But the workers' universities themselves? They have ceased to be essential facilities. They continue to be useful, but should they not restrain their highly ego-centered aspiration and become the alpha and omega in a few areas?

At any rate, in their place and the place of their patron, ZSMP, I would surely not intervene in the case mentioned by Janusz Z.

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## CATHOLIC, PZPR PRESS ON ELEMENTS YOUTH FIND ATTRACTIVE

Economics Blamed for 'Passivity'

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 8, 22 Feb 87 pp 1,2

[Article by Piotr Legutko: "Primer or Party Card?"]

[Text] Young people. One of the regular topics of the 1980's. With the regularity of the tides, discussions, debates, and actual exorcisms flood the country. Youth have the demon of passivity expelled from them through the use of the most varied sorts of oaths and incantations (decisions, resolutions, directives, ordinances, laws). A special minister has even been appointed. And all this has no effect on ungrateful youth. If it stood to one side, it still does. Things used to be different. Where has the enthusiasm gone? Where is the commitment of yesteryear?

So the publicists issue a complaint full of concern. Here is the model complaint, which is representative of the various individual complaints:

First, we have one, inseparable, infantile body of youth.

Second, this body of youth is passive, dependent, and lacking in initiative.

Third (1 + 2 = 3): We must take up the moral formation of youth. Therefore, we must create a uniform, unifying system of formation that will join the actions of the various educators and introduce it into the schools. (Smack! bang! and it is all over.)

The creators and proponents of the above theory make two basic mistakes in their assumptions. Therefore the hypothesis does not seem correct.

The attitudes of young people are quite varied. The scale of values with which they identify has become far broader, and they are becoming increasingly difficult to generalize. The concept of passivity also needs to be defined more precisely. Are we talking about total indifference to social reality, or a lack of activity in the areas which the state has designated for young people? Journalists are concerned with the latter.

## A Facade Will Not Get By

Wading through the mass of reports on youth matters, we can easily notice what is the subject of greatest concern. First mentioned among the faults of the young Pole is the lack of commitment to the affairs of state, social immaturity. It seems as though he holds the youth organizations in low esteem, does not care about social initiative, and does not want to act in any area.

Let us look at how young people see themselves in the role of social activists in school. The Krakow branch of continuing education for teachers conducted a poll in 20 schools of all types selected by lot and surveyed about 1,500 pupils on the "circumstance" of self-government. This poll showed the complete absence of interest in the activities of the student councils (and within the councils) and the general lack of faith as to the jurisdiction of these bodies. Few of those surveyed, for example, knew that the self-government can give its cognizance when peers are punished, shares in managing the school's finances, and even attends the teachers' councils (once a semester).

A whole 50 percent of those surveyed never calls on their representatives on the pupils' council at all. (The explanation for this state of affairs may be the information that the activists themselves list in first place among their tasks "the organization of pupils for volunteer work"--89 percent.) The issue is stated clearly by 15 percent of those responding: "The self-government is an extension of the authority of the director and teachers' council," but one-third deny the need for the existence of the pupils' council in the school. Those who see such a need (67 percent) justify their view in terms of representative and recreational considerations (setting up school dances).

Hardly anyone dares treat the self-government as a side in the dialogue with school officials in any sort of conflict areas. This shows, on the one hand, young people's complete disorientation as to their rights, and, on the other, their sobriety in assessing the state relations that have predominated in the schools for centuries. The pupil knows that there is no reason to rely on regulations during a conflict with a teacher, and this is why pupils are not interested in them. They change too often (the regulations, not the teachers).

The above-mentioned poll shows that, paradoxically, in the school the self-determination is equated with the existence of an activist group (that is, the self-government). This is the next facade among the many that exist in the reality of the school, the reality of assemblies, drives, retreats, and organizations created in keeping with recommendations and operating only to show their concrete results outside. It is not surprising that young people treat "membership" as one more school obligation. Few people are interested at all in the organizations' programs or forms of action. The ambitious young person looking for real possibilities to prove himself and gain approval from his milieu stays far away from the organizational framework. For him, to gather means basically (----) (Law of 31 July 1981, on control of publications and public appearances, Article 2, Point 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)) to compromise, to pretend, to lie, in order to gain something in exchange. The young person who is not

ambitious has his price. One can buy him with an attractive cultural or sports offer. Where there are such offers, such young people are not lacking.

The question arises as to whether under favorable conditions youngsters would exhibit initiative, commitment, or enthusiasm in public activity, if they had a broader range of liberty in choosing the forms and means of such work, if they had a clear goal and prospects for reaching it, if...

They are supposed to be so spoiled that it would not be of any real significance. Is that true?

#### Are They Really Passive?

The beginning of the 1980's was a period of exceptional social activity among young people. They made up for lost time at an accelerated rate not only in historical-literary education but also in democratic education. They learned public activity, defense of one's own interests, and shared administration in the school or college. The most numerous attempts to revitalize the school self-government and interesting initiatives and drives go back to those years. (----) (Law of 31 July 1981, on control of publications and public appearances, Article 2, Point 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)).

For a school pupil or college student a few years is a whole chapter of life. Today we can already talk about a worthwhile change. For many young people in the year 1987, a period of maturation has been imposed on the stormy martial law years. What is left of them? Certainly mistrust. Young people lock themselves up in their informal groups, which are held together by a common search for their own expression. Boys and girls accused of a lack of initiative, infantilism and "televisioidiocy," far more often than their predecessors of even a couple of years back, are seeking a place outside official life for themselves. Of course not all of them, just those who are "spread out," creative individuals.

Here is an example from the most characteristic field, music. For 60 years it has become a means of expression for young people in our cultural milieu. In the lyrics, in their rhythm, one can read everything that has to do with young people. The beginning of the 1980's was the rock era. Balding idols at concerts preferred "We want to be ourselves," but young people identified with their song. This was a period of conventional revolution in song. Today is different. There has been a significant explosion of young nonprofessional groups. They are not interested in making recordings or in hit parades. They do not use professional song-writers or lyricists, professional composers. They strum their instruments in club rooms and basements, wherever they can, shouting (not singing!) their own lyrics, in a distorted unattractive way, like their music. They meet once a year in Jarocin, or they do not meet at all. They play for a small circle of consumers. They create a unique mosaic of musical styles. Each of them (heavy metal, blues, reggae, punk rock, and so on) is a separate culture, fashion, lifestyle, sometimes even way of life. The variety and involvement of the lyrics catches the attention. They talk not about May nights but about aggression and alienation, love and hate, lying

and force. Moral problems predominate. The hero speaks on his own behalf about his own experience.

The end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's in this area of mass culture has been called "Music of the Young Generation." From the stage of pursuits and opposition, the rock groups of the day shifted to decidedly commercial positions, which should be recognized as correct. Today the young people's groups create what is called "alternative music" (arising in opposition to polite, hygienic, and infantile disco music). Denying the contribution of predecessors, they are bent on freshness, authenticity, and expression. In this way, their own working faults (and technical limitations) turn into an advantage, but each avant garde in time becomes commonplace. By the normal succession of things, groups like "Kult," "Siekiera," and "Deserter," which have already acquired substantial acclaim, go over to the commercial camp. They record, have records made, and "collaborate" with various "halls," but they are immediately replaced by the still younger angry ones: "Kobranocka," "Stiff Stick of Asia," "Uszy Katiuszy," and many other groups not widely known.

The incessant ferment and movement in the business are a condition to this music's existence. This is just why it is a barometer of current attitudes, desires, and anxieties of young people. Opposition is a sign of the young organism's health. If by the spring of life it already approves existing reality, then this is the disease called not "commitment," but "conformism."

Can young people be encouraged to more massive, constructive enterprises? It turns out that not much at all need be done to awaken such activity. The drive by Mark Kotanski last year proves this, for example. Why was he so successful? Mainly because he had trust in young people (thanks to the creation of "Monar"). Besides that he knew how to talk to these people, which not everyone knows how to do. Then he also hit the right note. The idea of the Pure Hearts -- at that time and in that place -- was bound to gain popular consensus, at any rate, on the level of spectaculars, without which the movement does not work at present. Kotanski's ostentatious thrust was the Chain of Pure Hearts. The remembrance of similar mass undertakings still fresh in the memory from a few years before, the wide acclaim and proper timing (the popularity of "Hands Across America," which was the prototype for the Chain) brought it a great deal of success. It was marvelous fun, but we do not know whether the Pure Hearts Movement will bring more concrete results. For the moment its creator seems to be seeking another spot for himself in our reality. He is broadcasting his own sort of Machiavellianism, with the idea that his own career should serve the Pure Hearts. (Do young people appreciate this "dedication"?). Looking at the television broadcasts of Kotanski's fan clubs, we can have our doubts about what the goal is here and what means are to lead to that goal.

#### Let Us Start With the Primer

Therefore, passivity is a relative concept. We would seem to be able to count on young people. Experience of the past few years has awakened in them a hunger for true values, along with distrust and a sensitivity to artificiality and falsehood. They follow whoever seems trustworthy to them, will be

authentic and straightforward in what he or she does. "Chain" showed that the question of form is not without meaning either. The way of approaching young people must not be rustic, and as Herbert wrote, the rhetoric must not have too much "sackcloth."

Another problem arises here, though. Effective actions and initiatives, even regular social activity, is one thing. The approach to daily responsibilities is another. Is the former really more important than the latter?

People would seem to be rending their garments for the wrong cause. The postulates of moral formation are aimed at training social leaders and activists. There is much agony over the fact that young people limit themselves to merely discharging their obligations. Meanwhile, the real concern should be over the lack of respect for the values that are "not colorful." Punctuality, reliability, keeping one's word, and solidarity do not always fit the framework in effect among "loose" young people. It is rather a free relationship to these values along with a "creative" interpretation of them that sounds good. It should simply be more than that. These colorless values (despite their lack of color) determine the quality of each action and work. Questioning the value of work is only a step away from disdaining these values.

It is not difficult to find the root of such attitudes. Young people find the models and examples in the home, at school, on the street, and, finally, in the workplace, but we do not go that far in the journalism devoted to the moral formation of young people. On the contrary, in a decisive, desperate way there is a push for moral formation within the four walls of the school. In the school there are people responsible for formation. They can take care of it. Hence, the most difficult task is thrust on an institution that is barely alive, without even a precise definition of what that task is, because the issue is extremely delicate, and the concept of "formation" a very broad one. (----) (Law of 31 July 1981, on control of publications and public appearances, Article 2, Point 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)).

Generally chaos reigns in directives concerning informing school youngsters about the political realities of contemporary Poland. One time there is a call to protect youngsters from political strife, to avoid bringing up controversial issues. Another time teachers are accused of omitting things, of avoiding difficult subjects, of lacking idealism. At the same time that the curriculum takes adopts an approach that is approving in its treatment of our reality, it should implant traditionally useful formation models. In this way a miracle is demanded, because it is a miraculous thing to eliminate some sort of undesirable phenomenon without eliminating its cause.

But the cause rests firmly in the curriculum's admiration of reality, the faulty economic mechanisms that are causing some sort of attitude or another towards work, the favoring of unprofitable undertakings that are running at a loss and contradict basic market laws, and finally the normal and obvious nature of making money through swindles on the side, dishonesty, rackets, money under the table, and goods for a certain few. It is only through improving management that we can improve morality. Therefore, let us begin

moral formation with the primer and not with the party card. The alphabet of educators in our country in crisis should be raising the prestige of work, developing basic virtues we have been calling "colorless values" here, so that the rebuilding of economic awareness will keep up with the desired ethical attitudes.

What is needed now is a united front of formation in which the teacher's profession is one of many. The rest must operate using a method that does not require talent, higher education, or a calling but is nonetheless tried and true: example.

P.S. Recently Lechoslaw Gawrecki (POLITYKA No 2, 1987) unveiled a secret concerning the above-mentioned miracle of formation. It was supposed to consist of reviving Heliodor Muszynski's system, which was once compromised back during the 1970's. The new total "socialization and activation of school children" would become another fiction, a cradle for pretended actions.

#### Few Students Aspire to PZPR Ranks

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 87 p 4

[Roundtable discussion at the district council (RO) of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) in Katowice, including Jerzy Kukla, a student in his fifth year of study at Silesian University and vice chairman of the ZSP's RO in Katowice; Piotr Wcislo, a student at Silesian Technical University; Robert Warczyk, a student in his third year at Silesian University and chairman of the university council (RU) of ZSP; and Robert Staczewski, also a student in his third year at Silesian University: "Take Convictions, Aspirations, and Capabilities Into Account," conducted by Zbigniew Maciag]

[Text]

[Question]: Why do so few college students belong to the party? Who are those who enter the ranks of the PZPR? What role does the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) play in the political education of young people on college campuses?

[Jerzy Kukla]: Students who belong to the party represent a small percentage of the campus population. There are institutions of higher education where there are no student party members at all. An example is the Silesian Medical Academy. In recent years the college walls have released many students who were party members, people who had received their PZPR candidacy papers back in high school. Now there are practically no admissions. A generation gap has been created, one that will be difficult and complicated but not impossible to fill.

What does success depend upon? First, on the quality of the college party organizations' work, because you can observe the following law in operation. The stronger the party is in the institution of higher education, the more resilient the youth organizations, which after all forge social activists.

A great deal depends on the teaching staff that daily is to handle political work among students. This has had varying results up until now. Often the formative function of the institution of higher education has been forgotten, or it has been treated with a shrug of the shoulders.

[Piotr Wcislo]: How to draw college students into the party? It would seem through close cooperation, at the departmental or institute level, between basic party organizations and the student organization. This cooperation should encompass all realms of academic life. This is the way it is at Silesian Technical University, where direct student contacts with young teaching assistants and secretaries are a normal thing, producing benefits in both directions.

[Jerzy Kukla]: The Association of Polish Students attaches a great deal of importance to the political education of college students. In the course of meetings, invited guests, prominent scientists, Central Committee speakers, and even the students themselves discuss current political and social issues and expand their knowledge in the social sciences. In this way we try to reach the student community, to activate it, and to encourage it to engage in creative work.

[Robert Warczyk]: It is slow going rebuilding the party's moral authority among college students. There are various causes for this, but there is one conclusion: one must approach each person on an individual basis, taking into consideration his convictions, life aspirations, and abilities. This task rests with the party organization, the student organization, the scientific teaching staff, starting with the youngest teaching assistant and ending with the university rector.

[Robert Warczyk]: To enter the party today, in the student community, is an act of exercising one's choice. I say this on the basis of my own experience. The person who has joined is sometimes isolated from his peers and encounters criticism from them. It is only by his attitude and actions that he can convince those who do not believe, that his decision has flowed out of his own personal conviction, his desire to take an active part in life in society. This is the very reason why we have all determined to be the best in the group, to excel in school and social work, because we think that the party member is not the one who "takes advantage," who "takes" in exchange for giving nothing of himself, but one who by his behavior has an influence on others, by his own personal example building the party's moral authority in the academic department and in the institution.

[Zbigniew Wieczorek]: The party student community is small and varied. The level of activity of some young party members can be reduced to carrying the party card and paying dues. This is far too little.

I entered to party, because I identify with Marxist theory. This decision is a sign of my level of activity in life. I think that the best, most active students should enter the ranks of the PZPR, for example, by way of the student organization.

The Association of Polish Students is involved in the formation of many activists, who, once having reached political maturity, come to the conclusion that mere work in the organization is not enough, that it is high time to join the party and pursue self-realization there. One more thing: I think that the gradual improvement in the country's sociopolitical and economic situation will facilitate the party's gaining moral authority among college students.

[Robert Staczewski]: I think that it is the duty of students who are party members to impact surrounding reality and not to yell about how things are bad, but in speaking about high-level politics, we must not forget that sometimes earthly matters, such as the shortage of college textbooks and published lecture notes, can have an impact on the attitudes of the student community.

[Jerzy Kukla]: Whether the number of student party members will increase during the next few years also depends on the quality of young teaching staff. Usually it is the young teaching assistants that have the close contacts with students. Unfortunately, it is not always the best ones, those who have merited it, that remain within the college walls. They are employed without any competition or preliminary qualifications. It must not be like this. The colleges need teachers that are the leaders among the best students who distinguish themselves by their social and political activity.

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CSO: 2600/453

## OZGA-MICHALSKI INTERVIEWED ON LAY MOVEMENT

AU291927 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Mar 87 p 4

[Interview with Jozef Ozga-Michalski, chairman of the committee in charge of celebration to mark the 80th anniversary of the Polish lay movement, by Jadwiga Wiecek--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Wiecek] The lay movement will celebrate its 80th anniversary, but actually it is much older because enlightened Poles have always continued to search for ideals other than those promoted by religion. What are the movement's takes in the Poland of 1987--a country in which most people regard themselves as believers?

[Ozga-Michalski] It is a misunderstanding to regard lay attitudes as opposition against religious people. The lay movement's aim is to promote and propagate respect for universal humanist values such as tolerance, militant determination to transform society, love for human beings, freedom and dignity, creative attitudes, and justice. The lay movement wants to promote these values in lay life--outside of the churches.

In our country we have an intellectual opposition which is a barrier to real values and which always returns to anachronistic symbols and subjects. This opposition consists of believers and nonbelievers, and that is why, on the one hand, we have miracles and explosive ideas instead of sustained work and instead of efforts to scientifically explain the phenomena taking place in society. In addition, some people indulge in morbid "missions" and indulge in the conviction that our nation enjoys some super-European standing. But instead of ever renewing its romantic readiness to save the world through continuous suffering, our nation should participate in rational social and economic processes. On the other hand, the rock-like belief in the sacred and inviolable dogmas of socialism is equally dangerous. When this rock disintegrates nothing is left except ashes and psychological devastation.

[Wiecek] The lay movement consists of people who hold various views and yet stress above all that which links human beings in practical life, notwithstanding their different world outlooks. You say that tolerance, which is so important in our divided and complicated world, is one such link. How can we strengthen this tolerance?

[Ozga-Michalski] In the past 1,000 years Poland has always been a mother to all citizens, regardless of their religion. It has been a refuge for religious dissenters from other countries. Our culture and science would never have become what they have become without contributions from the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of people professing other religions.

The Catholic Church, which is full of the original religious spirit of the people, has great opportunities in today's Poland to promote its domestic and world theology of freedom from fire, hunger, war and pollution--things human beings fear most. That is why certain people should not be afraid of socialism and should not tremble in the face of developing religiousness. They should tolerate one another in order to eliminate social, moral, and economic ills. The Christian world outlook has every opportunity to function in the socialist system.

I think that the third home visit by John Paul II will put an end to all moral and political manipulations trying to turn the nation's heritage against the socialist state. On the other hand, I hope that the church's appeal that [the nation] should cooperate with the lay state and lay public institutions will cease to be distrusted as a tactical move. When this is done the Poles will enjoy a new unity, one that can mobilize them for the full responsibility for the success of the task to repair our republic.

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## AUSCHWITZ SITE CONVENT CONTROVERSY RESOLVED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Feb 87 p 1,4

[Article by Zdzislaw Morawski: "Catholic-Jewish Commission Meets in Geneva: Under the Sign of Dialogue"]

[Excerpt] Krakow Metropolitan Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, who arrived in Rome from Geneva, brought with him a communique signed there by 18 members of the Catholic-Jewish joint commission established last year to settle a dispute, difficult for the Polish public to understand, over the Carmelite convent that was established several years ago in the vicinity of a former death camp. The establishment of the convent was seen by the Jewish community, mainly in Belgium, as an attempt to diminish the historical fact of the extermination of Jews at Auschwitz and as a measure "designed to emphasize the martyrdom of Christians at Auschwitz, which would diminish the role of Auschwitz in world opinion as the site of the martyrdom of the Jewish people, condemned by Hitler to total annihilation."

The inter-church dispute brought about the commission's appointment. Commission members on the Catholic side include Cardinal Macharski, Parish Metropolitan Cardinal Lustiger and Brussels Metropolitan Cardinal Lanneels and on the Jewish side the chairman of the European Jewish Congress, Theo Klein; Parish Chief Rabbi Rene Samuel Siret and the chairman of the world alliance of Jews, Prof Ady Steg.

The commission reached an agreement that surmounted the controversial problem. It was determined that along with fully respecting the site of Shoah, e.g., the extermination of Jews, which Auschwitz is, and the memory of all those who died there, "preserving in memory this tragic period of Nazi crime and paying tribute to the sufferings of the Polish nation at that time and place," steps should be taken that would "enable everyone to bow in reflection according to the dictates of his heart and the requirements of his religion and faith."

Further discussions anticipate that the Carmelite convent will remain where it is, outside the premises of the former camps and, through the efforts of European churches, a Center for Information, Education and Prayer will be established (Polish national authorities have already consented to the construction of a memorial of this kind). It will be inter-denominational and will deal, speaking very generally, with spreading the truth about Nazi crimes

in Auschwitz, fighting disinformation and revisionism in this field, hosting visiting groups and contributing to contacts between Christians and Jews.

The document signed in Geneva is an expression of ecumenical compromise that has permitted turning a controversial issue in Catholic-Jewish relations into a decision conducive to dialogue and mutual contacts on terms and facilitating cooperation for good, truth and peace.

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CSO: 2600/468

**PZPR DAILY LAMBASTS 'CLERICALISM'**

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by Ryszard Swierkowski: "More on Clericalism: Who Has What in Mind?"]

[Text] In letters to the editor, readers are asking how to understand the term "clericalism" and whether such a phenomenon or tendency exists in our country. This topic's timeliness could be affirmed by the unfinished polemics carried on in column form by TRYBUNA LUDU with editor Jozefa Hennalowa of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY." We quote what TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY's columnist wrote: "Has (clericalism) spread asocial attitudes, promulgated the cult of egoism and dishonesty, propagated ethical gangsterism, or brought on as a result the extension of spheres of indifference or even the growth of the social margin?"

I think the phenomenon of clericalism deserves notice. Because if questions on the subject are being repeated, this could mean that the time has come to define the phenomenon and things would appear to be clear. Especially since in listing what clericalism does not spread, promulgate or propagate, the author unequivocally suggests that someone is doing it. Who? Some journalists in the Catholic press have had a fixed answer for quite a while. Because accusing "ugly" materialism and the secular state of all the plagues and misfortunes of this best of all world has its lineage and continuation. If read in the bi-monthly CHRZESCIJANIN A WSPOLCZESNOSC that "Alcohol abuse sometimes grows out of secularism and becomes one of its symptoms." Believers do not drink. The word "sometimes" here fulfills the function of characteristic compassion for one's opponent. Even that is good. Because you will not find it in another, incomparably more important text published 13 years ago. ". . . we, your bishops," I read in a pastoral letter from the episcopate published eight years after Vatican Council II, "tell you: a person without faith and--God forbid--a nation without faith, is capable of great sin, weakness and even ignominy, because it does not acknowledge any moral bonds, it is not guided by any higher purpose or idea."

**Then and Now**

The church in Poland enjoys a strong position, moral authority and above all a great number of followers. So where do various plagues a pathologies on such a broad scale come from? Is it only the atheists who violate the catalog of the basic rules of social coexistence, who are the perpetrators of pathological

acts, who make up the statistics on high alcohol consumption? If I were a Catholic cleric or columnist, instead of accusing others I would first consider why, in a country so religious, in which the church has been present for a thousand years, religious dictates have such a minor influence on the everyday behavior of believers, and the principles so warmly professed during Sunday ceremonies are so scorned in daily life? Why, with such high religious feeling, is the moral level of community life in Poland so low?

Let us try, then, to define the contemporary essence of clericalism. We will then be convinced that it is a frequent, in various shades, to the columns of part of the Catholic press. As a requirement, a programmed proposal not only for moral and ideological but socio-political solutions as well. Admittedly the term clericalism has sometimes been used--incorrectly--to describe all forms of extra-religious, public involvement by the clergy and the church. In this broad, overly broad sense, progressive clerical involvement arising out of evangelical premises in the fight for social progress is also seen a clericalism. Such an understanding of clericalism is contradictory to the primary sense of this concept. And we may add in the new public language, in this semantic discussion, it almost does not come into play at all anymore. Clericalism can also be interpreted too narrowly--as a theocratic trend toward taking over direct political power or toward direct superiority over parliaments and governments. This is unrealistic today and currently occurs in only a few religions, those of a rather limited scope (Islam, for example). It can also be identified with church conservatism (integralism) opposed to change and doctrinal novelties and sometimes propounding subordination of the clergy to associations and groups of lay Catholics.

So what is the essence of clericalism today? First of all, it is involvement by the clergy or church (in the sense of a teaching institution) in activity against progressive movements of the modern world. In a different form and different practical as well as phraseological sense. Thus, against the world worker movement, against socialism, against the righteous struggle of classes and oppressed people. As one can see, this is a notion of clericalism defined in terms of class, one that most closely approximates the traditional substance. I would recall here that regressive church involvement became more acute during the bourgeois revolution, when the bourgeoisie, by creating a new kind of state, came into sharp conflict with the mainstay of feudalism--the Roman Catholic Church. As we know from history, the struggle lasted a long time. The Syllabus, an addendum to "Quanta cura," published by Pope Pius IX in 1864, condemned notion of progress, democracy, freedom of conscience, tolerance, rationalism, state secularity, even state education. Today this sound dismal and improbable, yet it is a fact. It was this reactionary interference by the clergy in political and ideological matters that was called clericalism in the 19th Century. It is simply an expression of the church's political aims and the clergy's aspirations to interfere in the sphere of secular public affairs.

#### Attempts at Influence through Division and Multiplication

For more than 100 years, since the time of Leo XIII's encyclical "Rerum Novarum" (1881), the church has come to terms with capitalism. From that time until the 1960s, until the pontificate of John XXIII, through the repetitive

contents of papal instructions, there has been criticism of the ideology of the worker movement and socialism. It was only in the documents of Vatican Council II that the church's supra-political nature was emphasized and the clergy cautioned against using religion for political purposes.

Clericalism has not laid down its weapons by any means and its most expansive variety, called militant clericalism, also exists. Its aggressive, confrontational nature is harmful to socialism but not to socialism alone. It attempts to undermine state secularity in general, to occupy a dominant, privileged position in the multi-denominational picture of some countries and subordinate to itself various spheres of life and public action. Clericalism is, of course, an anachronistic proposition, one that impoverishes social life and degrades the multi-philosophical value system. The conflicts it has provoked and still provokes by interfering in extra-religious collective life can produce--as history has shown--negative, even tragic consequences for individuals and communities. That is also why progressive Catholics and the enlightened part of the clergy have spoken out against clericalism for some time, thereby protecting religion and faith from political manipulation.

Is it not, for example, a manifestation of clericalism to equate Poles with Catholics, or the cross with the Polish nation? Yet S. Szymecki, bishop of Kielce, went that far in connection with the fight over crucifixes in Wloszczow schools, which in itself was a manifestation of militant clericalism.

Published in the Kielce Diocesan Review (5/85) the bishop's letter to the regional prosecutor in Kielce read as follows: "I hereby inform you that during the appeal trial before the Provincial Court in Kielce on 12 August 1985 (the trial of Revs Marek Labuda and Andrzej Wilczynski), prosecutor Kazimierz Sikora spoke the following words, insulting the Cross and the Polish Nation. . . ." After which the bishop acknowledged that he did not have to explain why the prosecutor's words contained an insult to both the "Cross" and the "Polish Nation." Without disputing any of the facts, he simply accepted that since there was talk about the cross--the symbol of sacrifice--one could equate it with the Polish nation. Is this not usurpation of clerical origin? The opposite of this kind of "unifying" tendencies--but only on the surface--is division of this nation. Into occupational and philosophical sections too. In GWIAZDA MORZA (8/86) "Catholic" horticulturists announced their pilgrimages; "Catholic" taxi drivers and "Catholic" custodians appeared earlier. In the mind set that divides people in a specific occupation into Catholics and the rest lie some hard to understand inclinations toward antagonization and philosophical ghettos. To what end? Is this supposed to be a means of spreading influence? Fortifying oneself with the aid of multiplication by division?

For Someone Else?

In ZNAK (1-2/85) I found three articles that typify that style of struggle for such attempts at influence. Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk tells when farmers work honestly and when they work unconsciously, giving as an example the construction of churches. "It was not necessary to prod anyone to do this work in the villages. Not to the effort or to good workmanship. Yet these people

usually worked as volunteers. Except that they knew they were working for themselves."

For themselves? Is other volunteer work "working for someone else?" The bishop's argument aims to show that any other work in Poland is work for someone else--could it be only for the communists? Even dishonest ("baptizing" milk with water) is justified as "making one's way" in the struggle with the "bureaucracy." Further, in an editorial discussion, "The Priesthood and Moral Culture," the starting point is a statement by Rev Tadeusz Huk that "rural culture has been assassinated" and the only recourse is development of a parish community of a socio-economic nature. Jerzy Diatlowiecki cautions that the community "is facing a dangerous border: contact with the administration. At a certain moment community initiative will clash with the power of territorial government. . . ." Because the communities are the only way to eliminate--as was said--the "schizoid situation of the Polish peasant," the conclusion is simple: replace "regime" government with the parish community. In this truly catastrophic picture of the Polish village, not a word about the significance that 1944 and the agrarian revolution had for it. Everything connected to the state, to socialism, is fixed with a mark of contempt, discarded or simply ignored. A "set piece" in the form of Jan Musial's report, "Church Construction in Sierakoscie," extend the lesson of this position: "On the 19th they put down the rectory's ground floor forms and on the 20th they poured it. By the 25th they had put up the rectory's joint or cornice wall. Two days later the rafters were up and the firewalls in place." Eugeniusz Szymanski chimes in, "those dates are important because they would not have built a state building that fast." Laughter.

Funny? Yet sad that for the author of this report this cynicism is a value that deserves to be promulgated. One has to scoff at "state" things. This trail blazing toward reclaiming church privileges and placing church needs and rights above the state's is "not bad" at all. Step by step. As, for example, Rev Stanislaw Ryszkowski did in WIADOMOSCI DIECEZJALNE PODLASKIE (12/86), when he instructed: "The lack of tolerance toward believers, e.g., forcing Catholics to be married at the Bureau of Vital Statistics and the solemn setting for that moment has resulted in some people not seeing the difference between a contract and a sacrament."

"Contract." Once, right after the Second World War, in the fight against secular nuptial law, an attempt was made in some periodicals to compare civil weddings with "hog production contracts." After 40 years one hears something like an echo of that fight, decided long ago, in Rev Ryszkowski's antagonistic argumentation on "forcing." But one can hear an even more distant, from another era altogether: the echo of the Council of Trent, so anachronistic given the picture of the world interpreted in a new, also by a Catholic Church that is open to modernity.

#### The Law of Subordination

The attempts to clericalize our public life are fairly obvious. In any case, this is not a new phenomenon: the desire for control over public life has never really left the church. Yet resistance has grown--to repeat--on the part of profoundly believing people as well. The voice of opposition to clerical

expansion and its growing supremacy grew loud in Poland between the wars. A major part of the intelligentsia of the time fought courageously for secularity in public life. M. Wronski wrote in 1929 about the concordat in WOLNOMYSLICIEL POLSKI: "For shame! The Senate of the Republic has acknowledged the sovereignty of the pope over Poland. . . ."

Shortly thereafter Tadeusz Boy-Zielinski noted, "The bishops are going mad. We did not wait long for the consequences of the concordat, that insane concordat, giving the bishops privileges they have never before had in Poland, even in the Middle Ages, a concordat that makes them representatives of Rome exclusively, loosely connected to our society, feeling about the law."

Now I would like to explain what I have in mind and why I am recalling past and recent facts.

There are forces today--in Poland and beyond its borders--that would like to bring about a clash between the Polish Catholic Church and the socialist state. Also by way of fueling political clericalism. Perhaps this way above all. In competition for power, conflicts are as a rule the most acute. Poland has achieved a high degree of tolerance--the guarantor or tolerance, freedom of conscience and religion is the state. It is the common good of citizens, including the followers of all religions existing here and non-believers too. The constitution and the state treat all churches and religious associations equally. Faith and religion are private matters of citizens. From these fundamental principles it is apparent that there is not and cannot be war between the church and state. In any case, they are not equivalent partners because no one within the state is an equivalent partner of the state. The iron law of subordination to law operates here and it applies to everyone. That is why it is necessary to oppose clericalism. Regardless of what character it appears in and in what clothing one would like to dress it.

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## BRIEFS

SOVIET KOLKHOZ HOSTS ZSL DELEGATION--At the invitation of the Supreme Committee (NK) of ZSL a delegation of the Kolkhoz Union Council (ZRK) arrived in Poland. At the end of the visit, on 21 February in Warsaw, Ivan Kukhar, the ZRK chairman, signed an agreement with Roman Malinowski, chairman of the NK ZSL, on cooperation between ZSL and the Soviet Union's ZRK. The main purpose is cooperation between the two organizations for the purpose of scientific and technical progress in agriculture and the food economy. ZSL and the ZRK will also develop active cooperation with progressive parties and peasant organizations and with related organizations in the international arena. Deputy Premier Jozef Koziol and Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov were also present for the signing of the agreement. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Feb 87 p 4] 10790

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY DELEGATION VISITS--(PAP) Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received a delegation of officials from M. Lomonosov University in Moscow, headed by Vladimir Tropin, on 23 February. They came to our country for the first congress of Polish graduates of their institution. The convocation was sponsored by the Commission for Graduates of Soviet Institutions of the main administration of the TPPR. There was a discussion of matters related to the education of Polish college students and doctoral candidates in this institution, the largest in the USSR, and the problematics of cooperation between Moscow University and institutions of higher education in Poland. Boguslaw Kedzia, director of the PZPR Central Committee's department of science, education, and scientific-technical progress, and Mieczyslaw Sienkiewicz, minister plenipotentiary at the Soviet embassy in Warsaw. On the same day, the Soviet delegation was received by Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science and higher education. Among the issues discussed were problems related to scientific-research cooperation between Moscow University and Polish institutions of higher education. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Feb 87 p 7] 10790

GIFT FROM POPE--John Paul II has given a valuable gift to the Pediatric Institute of the Academy of Medicine in Poznan; it is an electrocardiograph, an instrument for cardiological diagnostics. This modern equipment, from the Siemens firm of West Germany, will permit precise and rapid testing of young patients' hearts, replacing heart catheterization and enabling complete monitoring of the heart for children with heart disease. Dr Jerzy Stroba, archbishop of Poznan, who visited the Pediatric Institute and became acquainted with its work, delivered the valuable equipment to the medical team in the name of Pope John Paul II. [Text] Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Mar 87 p 2] 12776

NEW CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION--An advisory session between the Polish Catholic-Social Union delegates' group and representatives of Catholic circles from throughout Poland took place at the Sejm building on 12 March under the chairmanship of delegate Zbigniew Zielinski. The meeting was devoted to discussions of the goals and activity of the newly established "Laborem Exercens" foundation. As stated in a communique sent to PAP, the motives that guided the group of Catholic activists who established the foundation were presented in statements and those attending were informed about its initial program. It was acknowledged that the decline of the work ethic in many circles is, to a large extent, the result of the paralysis of social education, while indication of the value of work, not only in its practical but above all its spiritual dimension is a practice insufficiently established in Poland. The "Laborem Exercens" foundation, in disseminating and outlining the recommendations of Catholic ethics regarding work and occupations and relating both employees and employers, is eager to participate in the collective effort for national moral renewal that is a condition for desired changes and for departure from Poland's difficult position. It was stated that the foundation, by taking the name of the papal encyclical devoted to work, wants to be faithful to the ideas of Holy Father John Paul II expressed in it. During the discussion the initiative for establishing the foundation was favorably assessed, and the need to adapt the current body of Catholic social doctrine to the realm of work was stressed, as was the need to conduct penetrating research on the reasons for the decline of a proper subjective attitude toward work. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Mar 87 p 2] 12776

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

VRANCEA COUNTY APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lucian Dumitrescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Vrancea County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 28 Mar 87 p 1] /8309

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